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THE INGHAM PORTRAIT OF DE WITT CLINTON

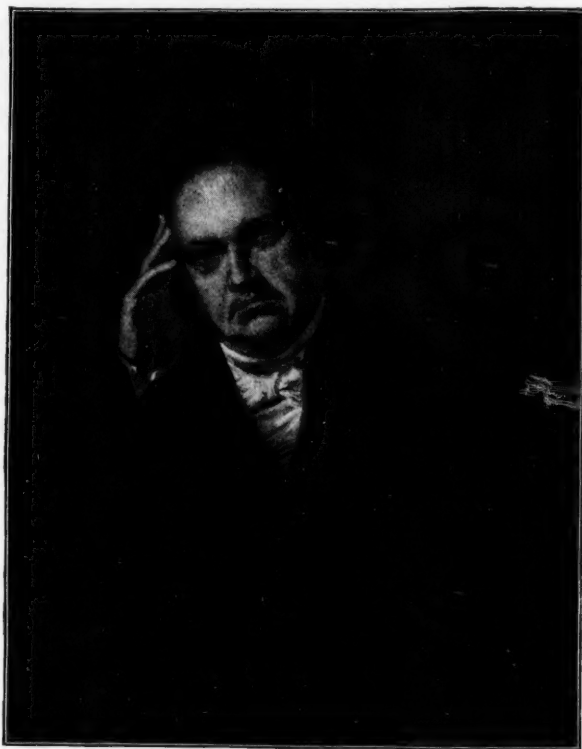
IT will interest art lovers as well as the historical and general public to learn that the original portrait exists in the city of New York, which Charles C. Ingham painted, from life sittings, of the celebrated De Witt Clinton, the portrait which is so well known through copies and engravings. Ingham was an artist of distinction, whose life extended over the period from 1797 to 1863. He was of Irish birth and education, and coming to this country, settled in New York about 1817. He painted the portrait in question for Mr. Philip Boyer, at the time De Witt Clinton was the most conspicuous man on the American continent through the successful building of the Erie Canal, and it was soon purchased by Philip Hone, the popular New York mayor.

A fine copy of this painting hangs in the State Library at Albany, being purchased in 1871 of De Witt Clinton's daughter, Mrs. David S. Jones, for the sum of five thousand dollars. By many it is supposed to be the original work of Ingham, but the history of the painting owned by Mr. Hone is very clear and well-authenticated, as it has remained in the city of New York ever since Mr. Hone's death. The copy in Albany was made by Henry Inman, an exceedingly versatile and skillful artist, whose life extended over the period from 1801 to 1846. For this information we have the authority of the well-known General Thomas S. Cummings, who studied the art of miniature portrait painting with Henry Inman, and is now the oldest surviving member of the original society of the National Academy of Design. Another of Inman's students of art, from 1837 to 1839, was Mr. Frederick W. Herring, who writes that in Mr. Inman's studio, during those two years, "two copies were made by Edwin Mooney, a student of Inman's, of the original portrait of Governor De Witt Clinton, painted by Charles C. Ingham, an engraving of which I have, engraved by Preudhomme. This picture was also engraved by the late A. B. Durand for the National Portrait Gallery."

The brother and sister of Charles C. Ingham related a few years ago some incidents of much interest in connection with this valuable his-

toric painting. They said the portrait was painted on a home-made canvas, that is, the stretcher was made at home, and the brother remembered having assisted in the making of it, and also the sittings given by De Witt Clinton. The curious mistake in drawing the right hand—that of putting in five fingers instead of four—caused great merriment in the family, “over which circumstance they often laughed at the artist afterwards.” They also remembered that two copies of this portrait were made in the studio of Henry Inman.

The character and public services of the subject of this painting will always have an interest for intelligent Americans. He was not the originator or the projector of the Erie Canal, but he was the master-spirit that carried the greatest work of internal improvement the world had then known to successful completion. De Witt Clinton's belief in the practicability of constructing a water highway from the Atlantic Ocean to the lakes was like an inspiration. There had been nothing visionary in the hardship and cost of conveying fighting materials from Albany to the lakes during the war of 1812. Thus, when the crude scheme of the canal first took possession of his active brain his judgment of its practical value was instantaneous. He entered heart and soul into the enterprise, and gave to it shape, substance, life, and animation. He was void of timidity, earnest even to asperity, prompt, energetic, and never disheartened by opposition. Late in the autumn of 1815, Judge Jonas Platt was in New York, holding court. De Witt Clinton was mayor of the city, and having just returned from his country seat on Long Island, was residing in the Roosevelt house, in Pearl street. Judge Platt dined with him, and the canal subject formed the staple of conversation. Thomas Eddy, a few days later, invited the mayor and the judge to dinner; John Pintard was also a guest. It was determined on this occasion to issue some one hundred cards of invitation to influential gentlemen of the city, to meet at the City Hotel in consultation concerning the much-desired canal. At the time appointed the assemblage gathered; William Bayard was appointed chairman, and John Pintard secretary. Addresses were made by Judge Platt, Mayor Clinton, and others, and a committee appointed to prepare a memorial to the legislature. This celebrated production was from the pen of Mayor De Witt Clinton, and its style of expression and sagacious reasoning, together with its immense amount of condensed information concerning the topography of the state, rendered it most effective. Hitherto, the New York mind had been flooded with an immense amount of loose material concerning the utility of inland navigation, but this able memorial gave definite direction to thought as well as action. Hundreds were converted from



De Witt Clinton

[From the original painting by Charles C. Ingham.]

rank skepticism as to its practicability. The prophecy with which Mayor Clinton concluded his address is worth repeating:

"If the project of a canal was intended to advance the views of individuals, or to foment the divisions of party; if it promoted the interests of a few at the expense of the prosperity of the many; if its benefits were limited as to place or fugitive as to duration; then, indeed, it might be received with cold indifference, or treated with cold neglect; but the overflowing blessings from this great fountain of public good and national abundance will be as extensive as our country, and as durable as time. It may be confidently asserted that this canal, as to the extent of its route,

as to the countries which it connects, and as to the consequences which it will produce, is without a parallel in the history of mankind. It remains for a free state to create a new era in history, and to erect a work more stupendous, more magnificent, and more beneficial than has hitherto been achieved by the human race."

The Erie Canal was completed on October 26, 1825. Thus the longest canal in the world had been constructed within a period of eight and one-third years. The manual labor had not ceased for a day since July 4, 1817. On the occasion of the magnificent celebration of this great event in history, Philip Hone was one of New York's representatives to meet the city's guests at Albany as they arrived there on the *Seneca Chief* from Buffalo; and in behalf of the city of New York he made an elegant congratulatory address, and invited the corporation of Albany to accompany the party down the Hudson and accept the hospitalities of the metropolis. Philip Hone was a personal friend and great admirer of Clinton. His home at that time was a great, roomy, cheerful dwelling in Broadway, opposite City Hall Park, which contained a well-chosen and costly library, and many valuable works of art. He must have greatly prized this excellent portrait by Ingham, which he subsequently placed in his collection.

De Witt Clinton was exceptionally dignified in personal appearance, tall, exceeding six feet in height, with a large, well-proportioned figure. His movements were deliberate, and in general society constrained, as if not perfectly at ease, which his political opponents ascribed to arrogance and a sense of superiority. His head, finely shaped and admirably poised, was distinguished for the great height and breadth of his forehead; he had beautiful curly chestnut hair, clear hazel eyes, a Grecian nose, and complexion as fair as a woman's. His tastes were literary; he had collected a large library, and was perfectly familiar with the contents of every volume from Homer, Virgil, and Dryden, down to Irving's *Salmagundi* of his own generation. He was well read in theology, he loved poetry, and he was captivated by science. He was indeed a man so wedded to the pursuit of knowledge, that the wonder is that he ever embarked upon the stormy sea of politics, unless it was through his perception of the need of power to give effect to his efforts for the recognition of religion, and the advancement of education, art, science, and morals. He lacked many of the requisites for a successful politician. His doctrines, objects, and public policy were open. He had no gifts for strategy, no disposition to drill men into mere machines or employ unusual weapons, ambushes, or surprises, to crush an adversary. The severer the scrutiny into his character, conduct, and career, the brighter becomes his fame.

COLONIAL MEMORIES AND THEIR LESSON

In every lifetime there comes a period when we love to turn the pages of our own history and take a retrospective view of the past, as it concerns ourselves, in our progenitors. The love of genealogy is often an inherited taste, although it may be one of cultivation, but at some stage of our existence, amid the full current of events that unceasingly flows around us, we may drop with the ebb tide to gather the shells along the shore of the past, or bring up from its hidden depths rich treasure from the lives of the wise and good whose names we honor through the centuries. Some one has said, "Great men exist that there may be greater men." That seed thought has borne fruit in our own day and generation, and we have seen the veritable sons of our Revolution again sacrificing life for a principle, to preserve what was given to us in trust by our patriot forefathers—our Union in all its glory and strength. We believe in our ancestors. We call our children by their names, and take an interest in tracing family characteristics or the features of grand old portraits in the present generation. That they were strong men with strong convictions, mountain-climbers thinking mountain thoughts, that we do know, self-sacrificing and duty-loving; and the high aims born in them have inspired others to overcome obstacles as they mount still higher. How many of us were made familiar in our earlier years with the old French motto *Noblesse oblige*, to live up to our position in life, honoring the race from which we sprung, which may have served as a vigorous incentive to spur ambition, or acted as a salutary check in time of need; but I never thoroughly appreciated all it embodied until a French teacher—a veritable gentlewoman of Huguenot descent—translated it for me, and gave it a higher meaning and dignity: "Unto whom much is given, much shall be required," and the sweet sense of its worth gathers new strength as the years roll on.

The present is ever unfolding the past. Mistakes made in one generation are followed by their results in the next. If parents eat sour grapes their children's teeth are set on edge, or from the toil and struggle and self-denial of the past the present reaps the golden grain. It is from those who served their generation well that we enjoy the privileges of to-day, and as we review the past, all who took a leading part in it share in its triumphs. The statesman and soldier, as well as the private

citizen and the "embattled farmer," have their representatives in every state, as we gather up the broken links of that long chain of patriots, cemented together by the love of country and liberty, to add to the honor of the past. It is they who set the keynote of our onward march in every direction toward an unclouded horizon, and in the swelling host who have joined us from every nation and clime we do not wish to forget these pioneers of principle, nor all they achieved in the small beginnings of our great republic; and now each one of us comes forward to lay a wreath of evergreen upon the grave of some ancestor who founded a colony, established the laws, and resisted unto death, to give us a free and independent country. Thus we revive their names and noble deeds in grateful remembrance as a legacy for those who are to follow us. Such is the origin, as I understand it, of our "Society of Colonial Dames of America," in its true meaning. The thought is full of poetic sentiment, if given its right direction, and should not degenerate into any ostentatious love of display, or unbecoming and misdirected pride, to weaken its influence.

The last century gathers together records of interest for all patriots, for the charm of ancient story enriches our past. The battles for freedom fought and won, and the principles bequeathed from dying fathers to sons, live not only in the heart of every true American but in the old flint-lock muskets, rapiers, cocked hats, and epaulets, that have descended with the years, and we can imagine our sturdy forefathers echoing some such sentiment as this:

"Never let it be said
That we truckled unto Thrones;
But ye, our children's children! think how we
Showed what things were, before the world was free!"

The footprints of those early days are fast being obliterated by the advancing conqueror progress, who develops great undertakings, controls greater forces, levels all obstacles, and climbs over impassable barriers with increasing knowledge that only a few years ago seemed insurmountable, plunging into untried paths with the confidence that only a successful past can give. Everything well started grows apace, like the giant trees of our forests, sending out strength and vigor in every direction still mounting upward—the result of centuries, they have their roots hidden in the past. We often associate our ancestors with the formal drawing-rooms of the last century, and as dressed in maroon velvet coats trimmed with rich lace, silken hose, knee-breeches, and powdered wigs;



FACSIMILE OF BILL OF EXCHANGE IN 1761.

[In possession of the author.]

but those costly "small-clothes" covered very big men—men who resolved and *did*, cost them what it might; men stung to the quick by a sense of injustice and oppression. Are we not indebted to them for the "free press" of our country, who did not hesitate to expose the wrong, advocate the right, and put their journals into deep mourning the day before the memorable stamp act was to take place? Their pluck, too, in consigning the valuable and probably much longed-for tea to a watery grave, for principle, will ever be the delight of schoolboys.

"The cargo came, and who could blame
If Indians seized the tea,
And chest by chest let down the same
Into the laughing sea!
For what avail the plow, or sail,
Or land, or life, if Freedom fail!"



OLD KNIFE AND TWO-PRONGED FORK
OF SILVER.

[In possession of the author.]

The chivalry and adventure of those early days have filled many a volume. Homes were at the mercy of the red man more than of the British, and the long cruel winters were still another formidable enemy to resist. But the peaceful side of the picture shows the simple domestic life—the circles around the log-fires, where classic lore, Horace and Homer, were made familiar to the boys, and bespeak the savor of home-rule and paternity, as the well-worn volumes on our library shelves testify. We read, too, of their cellars, well filled with old wine, pledged by those incorrigible patriots to drive the aggressive red-coats out of Massachusetts bay. It would have been better, perhaps, for their descendants, if their wine had shared the fate of the tea in Boston harbor, as that invincible enemy—the gout—whom they did not conquer has invaded the country ever since. It may, however, temper its piquancy to the innocent sufferers to remember that “its descent was from some aristocratic branch of their family tree,” and I believe there are many to whom that thought has a soothing effect. Their provincial simplicity must always have a charm for us who have advanced so far in luxury and worldly wisdom. We cannot forbear a good-natured smile at those dear simple folk of “ye olden time,” in their consternation, expressed in such practical wisdom, when their round-tipped knife-blades went out of fashion (they were only familiar with the two-pronged silver fork), as to how they were ever going to eat their peas! Their bills of exchange, and the quaint form of invitation, so different from those of to-day, we preserve as relics. Then the lives of colonial grandmothers enhance our own with a halo of romance. We read their long, closely written letters and journals, now yellowed by time, with a pathetic tenderness, wherein they recorded their heart stirrings, their bud-

ding hopes and passions. Sweet-faced miniatures of 1709 look again into our eyes. We wear their rings, reset their jewels, use their silver, read their Bibles—the only ones that tell us of “Susannah and the Elders,” and “Bel and the Dragon.” We even bear their names and the beauty of their lives attuned to ours, and keep up the harmony of the rolling years in our families. What pretty love-letters they wrote! In looking over such letters, I opened one enclosing a rose—all ashes now, yet reverently I folded it again, and tied it up in its faded ribbon. A soft



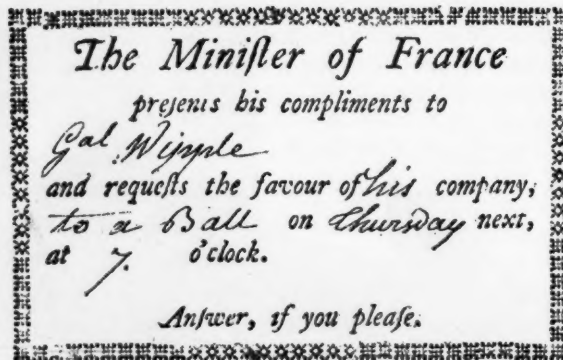
A SLIPPER OF COLORED SILK WORN BY MRS. GOVERNOR SHIRLEY, BOSTON, 1645.

[*In possession of the author.*]

ring of hair was enfolded in another with a verse of tender sentiment, and a baby slipper drifted up to me from the long ago, worn and dimpled by a little foot. It was labeled, “My darling’s first shoe,” and the date marked upon the sole—far down the centuries; no name, as though that was quite enough for that loving mother to distinguish her darling by through the ages. It would have been interesting to have followed the little footsteps, to know whither they led, and if they had made “their footprints on the sands of time.” The slippers, too, of colored silks, to match the *jupons* of colonial dames, recall the stately minuet in statelier

drawing-rooms, where their high jeweled combs and spangled fans twinkled in the soft light of wax candles.

I have sometimes pictured them in their shady old manor-houses, living their sweet, wholesome lives, going through their simple round of



FAC-SIMILE OF AN INVITATION IN THE OLDEN TIME.

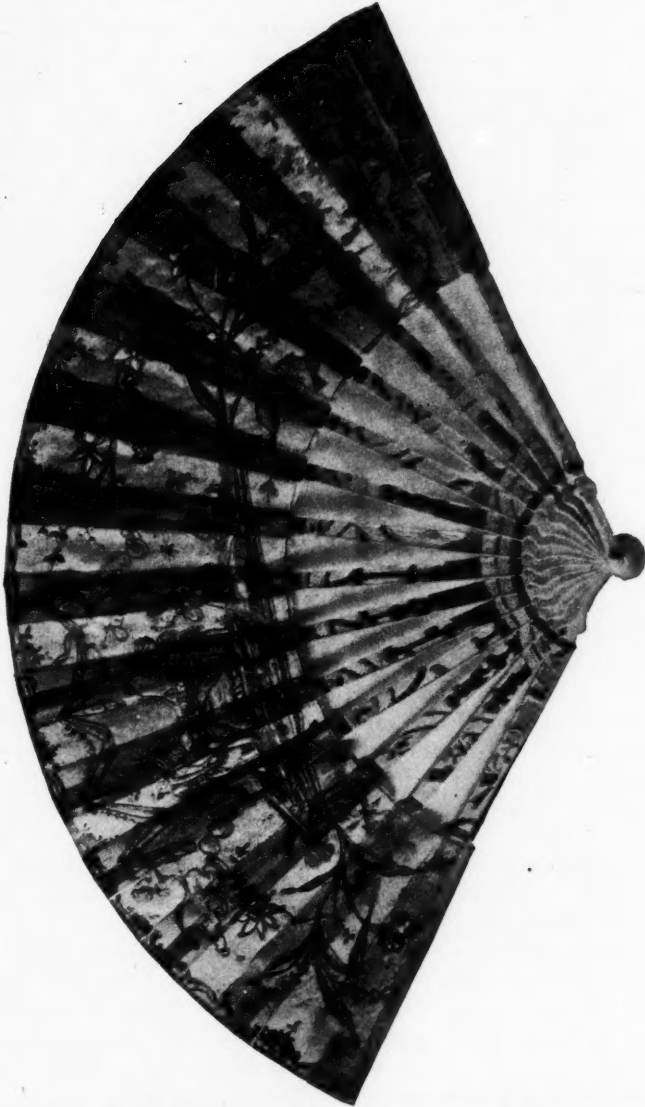
[Original in possession of the author.]

home duties, designing their own embroidery and worsted work, even dyeing the different shades of color they used with the herbs and roots out of their own woods and meadows. Before Miss Burney's new departure into sensational novels, they probably read *The Faerie Queen*,

and later Young's *Night Thoughts*, for pastime, doubtless building as attractive castles and bridges of their own sweet fancy, with perhaps more enduring foundations than the airy structures reared by our dazzled imaginations of to-day. There was a deeper sentiment given to the yellow rose than we give to the burning red of the "jacqueminot." In one manor-house the garden walks, hidden behind hedges of box, were kept exclusive and private for their own use, for the garden gate was locked, and the key had its proper place assigned to it in the grand old hall. There was a nice distinction drawn in these quiet homes, and maintained by a becoming reserve and dignity that was equal to themselves and to the times in which they lived. It might almost be called an "unassuming superiority," without any assertion or attempt on their part to insure it.

After the Revolution many of the leading families discarded their liveries on principle, so careful were they not to establish any undue class distinction in a republic.

In turning the pages of history, there are lessons to be learned, high questions to be solved and answered by the thoughtful, and out of them grows the sweet, sound wisdom that makes the world adaptable to all conditions of life. Character is strengthened and deepened by the steadfastness, the example, and practice of the noble lives that have passed onward. If they do not touch our own lives, they color our



FAN OF MRS. SHIRLEY (1745), WIFE OF THE FAMOUS COLONIAL GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

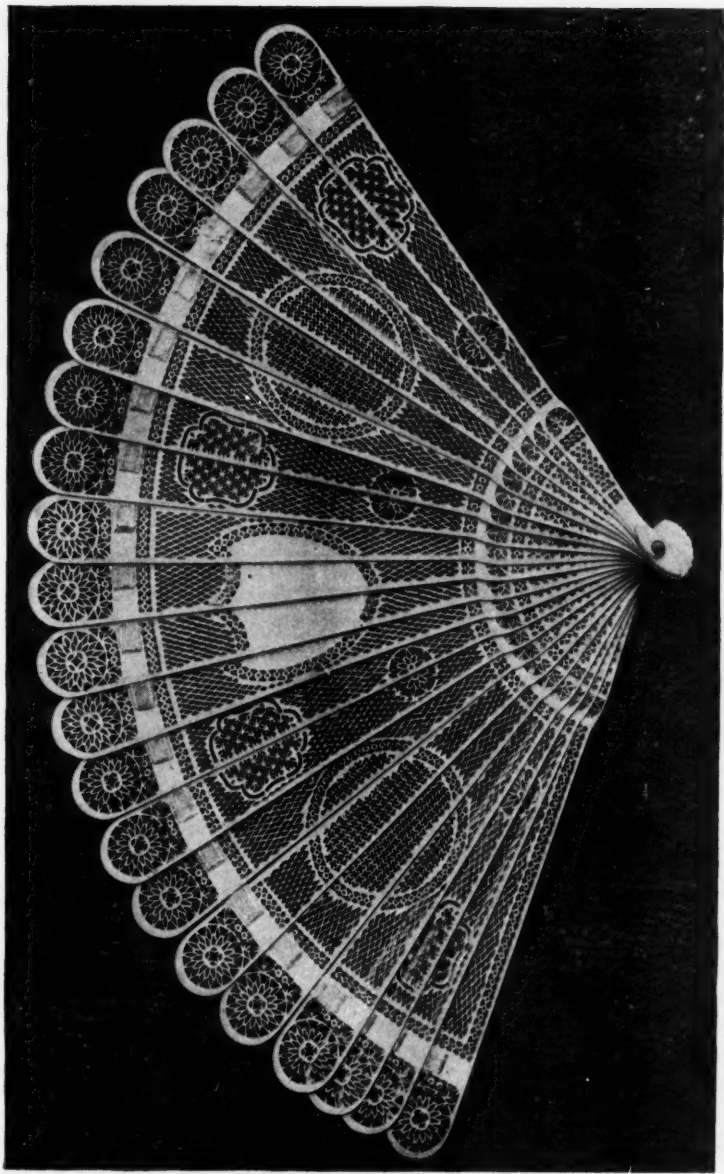
[In possession of the author.]

[From a photograph by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes.]

thoughts and actions, and prove that the world is made better by those who have had the courage to live up to their highest convictions. One of our own Colonial Dames made a remark to me the other day, to this effect: "How few of the *bona-fide* old ladies of the past we see around us!" It may be that in our high-pressure way of living there is no time in which to grow old; or is it that the boundary line of old age has grown obscure, not so readily found? Unfortunately, the beautiful autumn of life may be associated with the sere and yellow leaf only, unmindful of the mature fruitfulness and gathered sheaves that it alone can bring. Be that as it may, those dear old ladies, with smooth silvered hair, and soft lace caps, have gone out of fashion. Are we to revive the fading pictures ourselves again, when our lengthened autumns settle into the glow of winter's fireside?

Two sketches have come to me across the centuries. One is a ghost story and the other is a love story, although both are shaded with love. I found the ghost story in the pretty quaint hamlet of Stratford, Connecticut, last summer, when visiting a kinswoman of my own, whose home is in a dignified colonial house built about one hundred and fifty years ago to replace an older family mansion close by. It was built by the first president of Columbia college—then known as King's college. Members of the same colonial family still occupy it. The house itself is a fine study, filled with interesting and valuable relics. It doubtless boasted of its "modern improvements" in that olden day—one being a spacious linen closet built in one of the huge chimneys, so as to keep the linen warm during the bitter cold winters. Secret doors and panels in the wainscoting lead into darkened closets and vaults of concealment. The grounds are laid out in straight walks and shrubbery.

The heroine of my story was the beautiful Sally Johnson, the acknowledged belle and beauty of the period in that part of the country, and her position and loveliness attracted the admiration of a young British officer. Her father was a staunch patriot, and was deeply grieved at the discovery of a sincere attachment between the young people. The English family were equally indignant at a possible union with a "rebel family," whom they always alluded to with a capital D prefixed, by way of being more emphatic, and the recreant young officer was summarily ordered home in disgrace. Filial obedience was as stringent in those days as military laws, and the unfortunate lover saw no alternative before him but death, and ended his life with a bullet at the feet of his betrothed. The American house was dishonored by the tragedy, a blot cast upon its proud name, and the disconsolate maiden was only allowed to remain under her father's



THE ORIGINAL CARVED IVORY FAN OF MARIE ANTOINETTE, 1789.

[Recently for some three years in custody of the editor.]

roof upon one condition, that her sorrow should never again be referred to. Robed in a black silken gown, she wandered aimlessly about the house, the only relief to her feelings being her long-drawn sighs. Gradually she fell into a decline, and soon followed the spirit of her departed lover. These sighs and the rustle of her trailing gown are still heard in the present generation. "And have you heard them yourself?" I asked my hostess. "I assure you I have," she answered. I must, however, explain that the tragedy occurred in the original house on the grounds, that stood unoccupied for many, many years, for its reputation was tarnished at a very early date, as being *haunted*. It passed into decay slowly, and the evening that the last timbers of it were removed, my hostess told me that she was sitting up very late in her library reading, her dog lying on the hearth beside her, when distinctly she heard, as she supposed, some one sweeping past the door. Her dog sprang up with bristling ears, and excited, short barks, and "I arose," she said, "and opened the door, fully expecting to meet some one in the hall, but heard only a deep sigh passing up the staircase." "Were you not alarmed?" I asked. "The feeling was so strong with me," she answered, "that some one had entered the house, that I immediately called the servants together, and we searched every available place, to find that I had been deceived. Then remembering the family legend as being the only solution to the mystery, I looked up into the fine old shade-trees that encircled the house, and readily imagined how their great boughs, heavy with foliage, brushing against the soft shingles, might produce the effect of a trailing gown, and nature's wind-harp in the top-most branches might strike a sighing note, in certain conditions, around the sharp corners of the building." "But why spoil the poetry of a ghost story with the prose of logic?" I asked.

The love story I found in an old sole-leather trunk of family letters, and I finished it myself from an original portrait. Pages of finely written letters, yellow with age, fell into my hands from this receptacle, and in arranging their dates I became much interested in the young girl who wrote them from an old manor far up the Hudson. Her brother had recently married, I inferred from them, and had taken his bride to Europe to spend the winter. These letters were written to her new sister-in-law. They were bright and clever, full of girlish enthusiasm, envying their brilliant surroundings in contrast to her snow-bound winter, cut off so pitilessly from the outside world. I stood upon the porch of her lovely colonial home last winter, and contemplated the isolation of the scene of the last century. The double lawn swept down in its magnificence to the river unchanged, but the ice-boats of to-day skimmed over its surface like

New-Hampshire ^{GR} **GAZETTE,**
AND
HISTORICAL  **CHRONICLE.**

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was first Published.

These, and such as these, were the Sentiments of those in Power, in former Times. They knew that Liberty was the natural Right of Mankind: and that it was the greatest Injury even to curtail the desire thereof, in any Degree, any further than by their usual Consent they exchange for it, for other Blessings, and the Preservation of what remains. They were so far from being disposed to rob Men of this natural Right, that on the contrary they were for enlarging, and extending it to all the World that would receive it. *See Tempore Mutator etc.*—who that has seen that strong metaphysical Exclamation, How much the Gold become dim, and the most fine Gold changed! can avoid thinking of it—it seems to shine itself on this Objection—

[illegible][illegible]

[Fac-simile of copy in possession of the author.]

great white-winged birds, and the whistling trains echoed through the deep ravines, uniting every lonely hamlet to the great centres of activity. Alas! never for her. She described her life, the books she read, a piece of needle-work she was designing, and begged for fashion plates and a careful description of French bonnets to be sent to her. She sighed for a French maid! She loved the language, so associated in her mind with courts and *salons*, and was enjoying the study of it. Very little of incident occurred in that ice-bound winter with the exception of the arrival of distinguished foreigners with letters of introduction to her father, and she had met several British officers. But the spring opened a vista of pleasure to her, for she had been included in a select ball to be given by some prominent officers at West Point. She arranged her own gown herself. It was of "white tulle trimmed with rouleaus of blue satin ribbon," which she described by making rolls, or wads, of cotton, and covering them tightly with the ribbon.

Here the letters ended, nor could I find a clue to any other correspondence, although I hoped I might still learn something more of her. Years passed, and the letters were forgotten, when one day in visiting a friend I was attracted by an unfinished portrait of an old lady, upon an easel. She had blue eyes and white hair, with a fall of lace around the face. The blue eyes seemed to look straight into mine with a sweet intelligence, and twice I asked the name of the lady of the portrait. It was, however, an unfamiliar name, and conveyed no meaning to me. She was some colonial grandmother who married an officer in the army. As I was leaving the room, I turned again to the portrait and asked her maiden name, and was indeed startled and delighted to meet my girl friend of the past in Alida Livingston. My hostess was equally startled in her turn by my exclaiming, "Alida Livingston! Why, I knew her intimately!" The unfinished portrait served to finish her own history to my satisfaction, and her husband was doubtless one of the officers at that West Point ball, whose spurs became entangled in those rouleaus of blue satin ribbon!

To find connecting links with the past has always a pleasurable interest, and a few weeks ago I stood for the first time before an old house called the "Hamilton Grange." It is now the rectory of the beautiful new church of St. Luke, situated on the corner of One Hundred and Forty-first street, east of Tenth avenue (now Amsterdam avenue). It has been removed from its original site, across the street. Surrounded by a fence are thirteen trees planted by Alexander Hamilton to represent the thirteen original states. He built this house as late as 1802 for a suburban retreat. It was then eight miles and a half from the city limits. So

identified is he with the period of independence—the great leader of Republican science—that I lingered upon the once historic ground, now teeming with civilization and wealth, and took in the points of interest that encircle it. Harlem heights was mapped out before me, once bristling with encampments, and Fort Washington loomed up in the distance, once manned by British troops. It might have been on this very spot that Hamilton proposed to Washington to retake it with a storming party. It is said that Washington thought the dashing young captain overestimated his ability, but in the last battle of the Revolution he ordered him to lead the charge. "Hamilton, with two companions in arms, was the first one to leap upon the British parapet, and took his chances of instant death, in spite of his great ambition to live and to influence." A contemporary writer charmingly alludes to an unconscious monument to Alexander Hamilton, built within sight of his home, in a flourishing silk manufactory costing one hundred thousand dollars. "Hamilton took hold of the silk industry about the time that he made his celebrated speech on manufactures, and selected Paterson, New Jersey (named in honor of my father's grandfather, Judge William Paterson), as the spot to organize general manufactures on the plan of incorporations. To-day Paterson has a population of very many thousands of people through the manufactories planted there, and the overflow of the silk industry has sent one of its little rills back to the Grange."

But Hamilton did not die in this old house, as a man on the place would have me believe, for after the fatal effects of Burr's bullet he was carried to the country seat of an intimate friend, William Bayard, Esq. (my mother's grandfather), situated on the lower shore of the Hudson river—now Fourteenth street—where he died the following morning, and his funeral was from Trinity church.

Still another colonial landmark of interest with a pretty sentiment attached is our light-house off Sandy Hook, as it is the original one built there in 1764. The radiance of the past has never been dimmed, only increasing in brilliancy with the years, to welcome and guide all vessels from every foreign port safely into New York harbor. Thus we look back through the sunset tints of the past, very much as we watch the last rays fade behind the distant hills and linger in the after-glow. When we think of those serious and perilous colonial days, where the deepest thoughts and feelings were stirred by possible loss of all that life holds dear, even life itself, to make our country free and independent, we understand with a deeper meaning what was meant by the saying heard in our youth, that "there were giants in those days." But tradition falls into its

proper place, and it is not enough for us to rest self-satisfied with the lustre borrowed from the lives of patriots and martyrs. Emerson speaks tersely upon this subject: "The reverence for the deeds of our ancestors," he says, "is a treacherous sentiment. Their merit was not to reverence the old, but to honor the present moment, and we falsely make them excuses of the very habit which they hated and defied." But can we be unmindful, in our loyal allegiance to them, that a finer morning has dawned for us, and a new sun has risen, rosy and splendid in opportunity for us all? It is a privilege to live in the universal sunshine. It lights up a boundless reach for our influence. High thoughts and aims increase with the prosperity and benefits of to-day, if we, like them, honor the present moment. May we not as a society emulate the sterling qualities of our ancestors in promoting and defending the highest good around us? Can we not add the enlarged experience, the love and charity and inspiration, of this wonderful age in which we live? It is only in such golden coin that we can pay back the debt we owe them, by making our lives worthy of being their descendants, and like them

"live

In pulses stirred to generosity,
In deeds of daring rectitude, in scorn
For miserable aims that end in self!"

C. F. R. Irving.

REJECTION OF MONROE'S TREATY

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS IN THE SENATE

The winter of 1806-1807 promised to bring the United States to the verge of war with France. In the middle of February, at a moment when Americans expected daily the arrival of a British treaty marked by generous concessions, Napoleon's Berlin decree reached the United States. Commerce was instantly paralyzed, and merchants, congressmen, cabinet, and President turned to Turreau anxiously inquiring what was meant by this blockade of the British Islands by a power which could not keep so much as a frigate at sea. Turreau could give them no answer. . . .

All parties waited for the news from England, until March 3, 1807, the last day of the session, a rumor reached the capitol that a messenger had arrived at the British legation with a copy of the treaty negotiated by Pinkney and Monroe. The news was true. No sooner did Erskine receive the treaty, than he hurried with it to Madison, "in hopes that he would be induced to persuade the President either to detain the senate, which he has the power by the Constitution to do, or to give them notice that he should convene them again." Unlike Merry, Erskine was anxious for a reconciliation between England and America; he tried honestly and overzealously to bring the two governments into accord, but he found Madison not nearly so earnest as himself. (In writing to Howick, March 6, 1807, Erskine said:)

"The first question he asked was what had been determined on the point of impressment of seamen, claimed as British, out of American ships; and when I informed him that I had not perceived anything that directly referred to that question in any of the articles of the copy of the treaty which I had received, he expressed the greatest astonishment and disappointment. . . . The note which was delivered in to the American commissioners previous to the signature of the treaty, by Lords Holland and Auckland, relative to Bonaparte's decree of November 21, particularly attracted his attention; and he observed that the note itself would have prevented, he was convinced, the ratification of the treaty, even if all the articles of it had been satisfactory, and all the points settled upon the terms that had been required by their commissioners."

At ten o'clock the same night, the two houses of congress, when ready

to adjourn, sent a joint committee to wait upon the President, who was unwell and unable to go as usual to the capitol. Dr. Mitchill, the senator from New York, a member of this committee, asked the President whether there would be a call of the senate to consider the treaty. "Certainly not," replied Jefferson; and he added that "the only way he could account for our ministers having signed such a treaty, under such circumstances, was by supposing that in the first panic of the French imperial decree they had supposed a war to be inevitable, and that America must make common cause with England. He should, however, continue amicable relations with England, and continue the suspension of the Non-importation Act." *

The senators received this rebuff with ill-concealed annoyance. Jefferson's act in refusing to consult them about a matter so important as a British treaty, and one which from the first had been their own rather than the President's scheme, was another instance of the boldness which sometimes contradicted the theory that Jefferson was a timid man. To ordinary minds it seemed clear that the President needed support; that he could not afford single-handed to defy England and France; that the circle of foreign enemies was narrowing about him; and that to suppress of his own will a treaty on which peace and war might depend, exposed him to responsibilities under which he might be crushed. Although the treaty was not yet published, enough had been said to make senators extremely curious about its contents; and they were not pleased to learn that the President meant to tell them nothing, and cared too little for their opinion to ask it. Of all the senators the most formidable intriguer was Samuel Smith of Maryland, who wrote the next day confidentially to Wilson Cary Nicholas a letter full of the fresh impressions which gave life to Smith's private language. He said:

"A copy of the treaty arrived last evening. The President is angry with it, and to Dr. Mitchill and Mr. [John Quincy] Adams (who carried the last message) expressed his anger in strong, very strong terms, telling in broad language the cause of his wrath. He requested the doctor to tell the senators his objections. If the doctor repeated correctly, then I must be permitted to think there was not a little of the heightening. He said the President was at present determined to send the original back the moment it shall be received, without submitting it to the senate. He was sick, it is true—vexed and worried; he may think better of it, for Madison (expecting less than he had) differs with him as to calling the

* Diary of John Quincy Adams, I. 495.

senate, and R[obert] S[mith] concurs in opinion with M[adison]. . . . I stopped here, and I have seen the President and Mr. M[adison]. It seems the impressment of seamen was a *sine qua non* in the instructions. The P[resident] speaks positively, that without full and formal satisfaction shall be made thereupon he will return the treaty without consulting the senate; and yet he admits the treaty, so far as to all the other points, might be acceptable—nay, that there are but few exceptions to it in his mind. I fancy the merchants would be perfectly pleased therewith. If then in all other points it would please, will the responsibility not be very great on him, should he send it back without consulting the senate? M[adison] in answer to this query said: But if he is determined not to accept, even should the senate advise, why call the senate together? I could give no answer to this question. If by his unusual conduct the British continue or increase their depredations (which he cannot prevent), what will be the outcry? *You* may advise him. He stumped us by his positive manner. Will not M[onroe] and P[inkney] both conceive themselves insulted, and return to make war on the administration? The whole subject ought, I conceive, to have been treated as one of great delicacy."

The more closely the subject was studied, the more clearly it appeared that Monroe to all appearance knowingly embarrassed the administration by signing a treaty in contravention of the President's orders; but Jefferson added unnecessarily to his embarrassment by refusing the treaty before he read it. Tacit abandonment of impressments was the utmost concession that the President could hope from England, and even this he must probably fight for; yet he refused to consult the senate on the merits of Monroe's treaty for a reason which would have caused the withholding of every treaty ever made in England. No act of Jefferson's administration exposed him to more misinterpretation, or more stimulated a belief in his hatred of England and of commerce, than his refusal to lay Monroe's treaty before the senate.

History of the United States, by HENRY ADAMS.

THE OLD AND THE NEW IN HISTORY

TWO SONNETS

[THE OLD]

Plead not in vain the archives long concealed,
When men were gods, and heroes lived whose birth
Made land and sea and sky all common earth,
While Homer sang and Oracles revealed:
The rust of ages scars the ancient shield,
And dusty bannered halls have lost their mirth—
The battle-axe and barbed spear their worth,
In deadly combats on the tented field;
Those fabled days so vaguely seen are gone,
Though battered walls and crumbling towers may sigh
And dream of chivalry: yet comes the dawn
Of centuries which myth and mould defy,
Whose rays of promise, brighter than the sun,
Spread far and near when brave Columbus won.

[THE NEW]

The Nations marching from the mystic past,
Or through the dark uncertainty and gloom
Of fated epochs bearing on their doom,
Behold afar—too far for hope to last,
Or feudal thrones to bind a people fast—
A world of beauty and of sweet perfume,
A land of golden hues and vernal bloom,
Spanned only by the arc of heaven so vast:
No worm-gnawed parchments need proclaim the right
Where simple worth, spurred by the pulse of youth,
Inspires a nation and restores to sight
The long lost palms of Liberty and Truth:
Proud Realm of western grandeur and renown!
Thou seekest only good the new to crown.

CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE.

W. S. Crandall

HULL'S SURRENDER OF DETROIT, 1812

Mr. Henry Adams in his second volume of the "History of the United States" devotes two chapters to the events connected with the surrender of Detroit in 1812, in which he shows the entire want of preparation with which President and congress, under the influence of Henry Clay and others, rushed into a conflict with the veterans of England on land, and her thousand war-ships on the ocean; and the imbecility of the war department, of its chief Dr. Eustis, and the poor organization of the small army which was scattered over an immense territory on garrison duty, while new regiments not yet raised were relied upon for the conquest of Canada. He says, "The senior major-general and commander-in-chief was Henry Dearborn, the other major-general was Thomas Pinckney. The brigadiers were James Wilkinson, Wade Hampton, Joseph Bloomfield, James Winchester, and William Hull." Most of them had served in the army of the Revolution, and Mr. Adams states that "all were over sixty years of age or more, and neither of them had ever commanded a regiment in the face of an enemy."

However it may have been with the others, Mr. Adams is in error with respect to William Hull. He was fifty-nine years old in 1812, and besides several important detached commands in the Revolutionary war, he had commanded the Eighth Massachusetts regiment, which in April, 1777, formed the rear guard of St. Clair's army, and had also commanded it at the battle of Monmouth. On both these occasions the colonel, Michael Jackson, was disabled by wounds, and the lieutenant-colonel, John Brooks, was absent on other duty. Mr. Adams goes on to remark that in case the states had been allowed to choose the general officers, Andrew Jackson would have taken the place of James Winchester, and William Hull would never have been appointed from Massachusetts.

This prediction as to what Massachusetts would have done seems to be rash, since after the battle of Trenton and Princeton Captain Hull at the request of Washington for good service in those battles was promoted to major in the Eighth Massachusetts regiment; and again, after the assault on Stony Point, where Major Hull commanded four hundred men, one-third of Wayne's force, he was promoted by the legislature of Massachusetts to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Besides these promotions William Hull was after the peace, for nearly twenty years, elected major-general

of the third division of the Massachusetts militia, which was under his care one of the best-disciplined divisions of the state. In 1812 William Hull had been for some years governor of Michigan territory, then containing about five thousand white inhabitants, mostly Canadians, along the river and lake, who subsisted mainly by hunting and fishing and the Indian trade; almost all supplies coming from Ohio by Lake Erie.

The greater part of the territory was a wilderness, occupied by various tribes of Indians, who in time of peace with England could be controlled. In 1811, however, rumors of war prevailed, and these savages, who were generally in British pay and regarded as allies by that power, became restless and troublesome—particularly as the American policy was to keep them neutral, which to an Indian is most obnoxious. In the winter of 1812 Governor Hull visited Washington and asked for troops to hold the Indians in check, at the same time repeating what he had before urged upon the government, the absolute necessity of a naval force on Lake Erie, as in case of war the British could render the port of Detroit untenable. The naval force was promised, and Captain Stewart was ordered to the service, but he did not go, and nothing more was done, although at that time the only vestige of an American naval force was the brig *Adams* then building at Detroit. It seems to have been expected by the war department that this single vessel would sweep from Lake Erie the British squadron of five men-of-war and several gun-boats. But even the *Adams* was never put in commission, and she was captured with Detroit. This was about the proportion between the British and American forces on the frontier at the surrender of Detroit on August 16, 1812.

Three regiments of Ohio militia under the command of Colonels Cass, McArthur, and Findley, were ordered for the protection of Detroit against the Indians. These were to be joined by a part of the Fourth United States Infantry, three hundred strong, under Lieutenant-colonel Miller. Governor Hull was asked to take command with the rank of brigadier-general, but declined, and Colonel Kingsbury 'of the regulars was ordered to the service, who fell sick and was unable to serve. Then Governor Hull at the urgent solicitation of the President accepted the command in order to lead the troops to Detroit, it being understood that another officer should be sent there to relieve him. "In his anxiety for the safety of the people of the territory, Governor Hull here committed an error which a more selfish man would have avoided. The people of the United States generally were expecting the conquest of Canada. It had been stated repeatedly on the floor of congress that in case of war with Great Britain Canada would at once be over-run and conquered by

the armies of the United States. Governor Hull knew, and had repeatedly represented to the government, the difficulties in the way of such an enterprise. The lakes were in possession of the British; the Indians were on their side, and the militia of Canada numbered twenty to one of the militia of Michigan. In three separate memorials addressed to the war department, in April, 1809, June, 1811, and March, 1812, he had urged the necessity of a fleet on Lake Erie. Again, after his appointment as brigadier-general, he urged the same in a memorial to the President.

General Hull well knew and had repeatedly stated, that to conquer Canada or even protect Michigan it was necessary to either obtain command of the lake or invade upper Canada with two powerful and co-operating armies at Detroit and Niagara. He did not think that he should be expected to conquer Canada with an army of fifteen hundred men, four-fifths of whom were militia, while the British held the lakes with their ships, and the forests with their Indians. He depended on efficient support both by water and land. But while his object was the protection of Michigan and its inhabitants, the object of the government was the conquest of Canada. He regarded himself as the governor and protector of the territory; he was regarded by the nation as general of an invading army which was shortly to over-run the whole of Canada. A selfish man, foreseeing the impossibility of meeting the expectations of government and people, would have persisted in refusing this appointment. But hoping to protect the inhabitants from immediate Indian hostilities, and confident the government would support him in case of war, he accepted.*

These important considerations and reasons for accepting the temporary command, General Hull gives at length in his "Memoirs of the Campaign of the North-western Army;" but they seem to have escaped the notice of Mr. Adams, who writes, "April 1 the militia were ordered to rendezvous at Dayton, and there, May 25, Hull took command; June 1 they marched, and June 10 were joined at Urbana by the fourth regiment. Detroit was nearly two hundred miles away, and the army as it advanced was obliged to cut a road through the forest, to bridge streams, and construct causeways; but for such work the militia were well fitted, and they made good progress. The energy with which the march was conducted excited the surprise of the British authorities, and contrasted well with other military movements of the year."

The plan of campaign as related by Mr. Adams, and made by General Dearborn, was an invasion of Canada from Detroit, Niagara, and Sackett's

* Clarke's *History of the Campaign of 1812*.

Harbor, chiefly by militia. It will be seen that the invasion from Detroit was the only one accomplished that year. As the quality of the force with which General Hull was expected to conquer upper Canada was an important factor in the campaign, the commander's account will be interesting. "Their arms were totally unfit for use ; many of the men were destitute of blankets and other necessary clothing ; no armorers were provided to repair the arms ; no means had been adopted to furnish clothing ; and no powder in the magazines fit for use. What is more extraordinary, no contracts or measures were adopted to supply these troops with necessary provisions during their march through a wilderness of more than two hundred miles until they arrived at Detroit. On my own responsibility I sent to powder-mills in Kentucky and purchased powder, collected a few blankets and other necessary clothing, and employed private armorers in Cincinnati and Dayton to repair the arms." *

Lieutenant Bacon of the fourth regiment gave the following testimony at the court martial: "Generally speaking, the Ohio volunteers and militia were insubordinate ; one evening at Urbana I heard a noise, and was informed that a company of Ohio volunteers were riding one of their officers on a rail. Some thirty or forty of the Ohio militia refused to cross into Canada at one time, and I think I saw one hundred who refused to cross when the troops were at Urbana. When the troops left Urbana General Hull came to Colonel Miller in his official capacity, and informed him that there was another mutiny among the Ohio volunteers, and wished that a halt take place. After a short halt General Hull rode up to Colonel Miller and said, 'Your regiment is a powerful argument ; without them I could not march these men to Detroit.' " †

The three hundred regulars, part of the Fourth United States Infantry, seemed to be the only reliable part of the army, and perhaps it would have been better for General Hull if the militia had deserted as they often threatened to do, as with their mutinous officers they formed rather an element of weakness than strength. Four block-houses were built on the route, in which small garrisons were left for the security of the convoys. On the 24th of June, having proceeded about seventy-five miles, General Hull received a letter by express messenger, dated June 18, ordering him to proceed to Detroit with all possible dispatch. Accordingly a small vessel was hired at the rapids of the Miami for the transportation of the invalids (sixty in number), the baggage, hospital stores, etc., and with them went a trunk containing army papers. War was declared by congress

* Hull's *Memoirs*, p. 34.

† Hull's Trial.

June 18, the day of the date of the above letter, yet no intimation of it appeared therein. When this vessel arrived at Fort Malden, the British, farther away from Washington than General Hull, had received news of the declaration and captured her.

Mr. Adams justly says, "This first disaster told the story of the campaign," and the historian is disposed to divide the blame for it between General Hull and the war department. War was declared June 18, and the letter of Eustis of that date to General Hull made no mention of it. How could General Hull imagine that so important an event had taken place on that day, and that his government would give him no notice? Yet such was the case, and another letter of the same date announcing the declaration of war sent through the post office did not reach General Hull until July 2, two days after the British received the news.

General Armstrong writes of this transaction: "We have seen that General Hull lost his own baggage and that of the army, the whole of his hospital stores, intrenching tools, and sixty men, in consequence of the ill-judged and tardy manner employed in transmitting to him the declaration of war. A fact so extraordinary in itself and so productive of injury to the public calls for more development than has yet been given to it. It will be remembered that a declaration of war was authorized on the 18th day of June, 1812. On this day Secretary Eustis wrote two letters to General Hull, in one of which no mention was made of this important event; in the other it was distinctly and officially announced. The former of the two was carefully made up and expedited by a special messenger who arrived in the general's camp on the 24th of June; while the latter was committed to the public mail to Cleveland, thence through a wilderness of one hundred miles by such conveyances as accident might supply.

The result was that the declaration did not reach its destination until the 2d of July, two days after it had been received by the enemy at Malden. On this occasion the British government was better served: Provost received notice of it on the 24th of June, at Quebec; Brock on the 26th, at Newark; St. George on the 30th, at Malden, and on the 8th of July at St. Joseph's. But a fact still more extraordinary than the celerity of these transmissions is that the information thus rapidly forwarded to Malden and St. Joseph's was received under envelopes franked by the secretary of the American treasury!" Thus General Armstrong, who was no friend of Hull, as was proved when in 1814 he appointed General Dearborn president of the court-martial to try the former, imputes no blame to Hull for this disaster, as does our modern judicial historian.

The little army reached Detroit July 5. Some incidents of the march

are found in a letter from Robert Wallace of Ohio, a volunteer aid to General Hull, as follows: "The prudence and dispatch of our march through the wilderness, making our road through woods and swamps, fortifying our camp, and guarding against surprise from the Indians, inspired us with confidence in our old but experienced commander. His letters from the war department urged him on, but our heavy wagons and constant rains retarded our progress. On the 4th of July we delayed at the river Huron to build a bridge for our wagons. We remained under arms all day, and in order of battle, being surrounded by Indians, and in sight of a British frigate full of troops. During the day it was remarked to me by several officers, that General Hull appeared to have no sense of personal danger, and that he would certainly be killed if a contest commenced. This was said to prepare me for taking orders from the next in rank, and I mention it to show their opinion of him at the time.

We encamped that night in an open prairie, without timber to fortify or tools to intrench. Our rear was protected by the river; our front and flank by fires at some distance from the lines. Picket guards were posted, scouts kept in motion, and half the troops alternately under arms all night. All lights were extinguished in the camp but one—that for the use of the surgeon, for we expected an attack before day. I give this as a specimen of vigilance, which could never have been taken by surprise. Our camp and line of march were always in order of battle."

It will be remembered that General Hull accepted the command for the purpose of leading the troops to Detroit for its protection, well aware that the force was inadequate for an offensive campaign, and we make these extracts from Captain Wallace's letter to show how promptly and successfully he did it. It is a part of the campaign which has not been described by historians, perhaps because it reflected credit upon the military skill of the commander, which it has been the object of most of them to decry. If compared with most other military marches through the wilderness, from that of Braddock to Harrison, this was eminently successful; the only disaster, the capture of the schooner at Malden, being due to the negligence, or something worse, of the authorities at Washington.

Having brought his troops to Detroit General Hull expected to be relieved, but instead of that, on the 9th of July, he received orders to cross the river "and pursue his conquests." If he had been given an army of ten thousand men, and a naval squadron such as Harrison had subsequently, this phrase might not have been amiss; but to talk of conquering upper Canada with twelve hundred poorly armed and mutinous militia, and three hundred regulars, showed such ignorance and incapacity

at the war department as to predict failure everywhere. What were the resources of Canada, and what were those of Michigan territory at the command of General Hull, at this time? A report, dated after the loss of Detroit, published in a French-Canadian paper, gives the British force in Canada as eighteen thousand nine hundred men, about one half British regular troops, and the rest embodied militia; in addition to which, upper Canada alone, having a population of one hundred thousand, could furnish in case of invasion at least as many more—making a total of thirty-seven thousand men, a larger force than the whole army of the United States at that time, whether embodied, enlisted, or called for by congress.

To oppose this force defending their own soil, General Hull had for an army of invasion, actually present and fit for duty, as follows:

Authorized force, at Dayton, Ohio, May 25, fifteen hundred men; garrison at Detroit, fifty men; add Michigan militia at Detroit, one hundred and fifty—seventeen hundred men. Deduct from this: garrison of fort and two block-houses, sixty men; prisoners in vessel, sixty men; left sick at river Raisin, twenty-five men; sick in Detroit, two hundred men; refused to cross into Canada, one hundred and eighty men; garrisons left in Detroit and forts, two hundred men—seven hundred and twenty-five men. Nine hundred and seventy-five men—the force which crossed the river, or about one-twentieth of the British available force in Canada. In addition to which the British had a strong fleet of armed vessels in Lake Erie, and General Hull had one vessel, still on the stocks.

Mr. Adams thus describes Detroit in 1812: "The town contained about eight hundred inhabitants within gun-shot of the British shore. The fort was a square enclosure of about two acres, surrounded by an embankment, a dry ditch, and a double row of pickets. Although capable of standing a siege, it did not command the river. Its supplies were insufficient for many weeks; it was two hundred miles distant from support; and its only road of communication ran for sixty miles along the shore of Lake Erie, where a British fleet on one side and a horde of savages on the other could always make it impassable. The widely scattered people of the territory, numbering four or five thousand, promised to become a serious burden in case of siege or investment. Hull knew in advance that, in a military sense, Detroit was a trap."

The Ohio militia which had been clamoring to cross into Canada without orders, when the orders came, July 9, found that they had scruples about leaving Michigan, and one hundred and eighty of them refused to go. On the 12th General Hull crossed with about a thousand men and occupied Sandwich unopposed, and the same day issued a proclamation

to the inhabitants offering them peace, liberty, and security, provided they remained neutral. This proclamation has a curious history. It was approved by the President August 1, and declared by the American commissioners at the treaty of Ghent to have been unauthorized and disapproved by the government. Until General Hull's death the paper was condemned by the government newspapers as pompous and improper. After his death (Hull's) the friends of General Cass claimed its authorship for him (Cass), and praised it as a strong and spirited paper. Cass himself, however, did not pretend to claim it, and when written to with an inquiry whether he was the author, he did not reply.

General Hull immediately fortified his camp, and sent Colonel McArthur to the river Thames for provisions. He returned August 17 with flour and military stores, having penetrated sixty miles. The fort at Malden was now to be attacked, but General Hull had no heavy guns for breaching the works, and on calling his colonels together to inquire whether their men could be depended upon to assault the fort at Malden with the bayonet, Colonel Miller was willing to answer for his men, but the Ohio colonels had not the same confidence in theirs, and it was determined to wait for cannon from Detroit before making the attack.

This small force having crossed the river and "challenged the whole British force in Canada," as Mr. Adams remarks, what was the commander-in-chief Dearborn doing? He had been repeatedly ordered to make a diversion at Niagara in Hull's favor; but up to July 15, the day after General Hull had entered Canada, Dearborn was still in Boston contending with federalists. "More used to politics than war, Dearborn for the time took no thought of military movements. The major-general in charge of operations against Montreal, Kingston, and Niagara should have been able to warn his civil superior of the risks incurred in allowing Hull to make an unsupported movement from an isolated base such as he knew Detroit to be; but no thought of Hull was in Dearborn's mind.

The secretary as early as June 24 authorized Hull to invade Canada west, and his delay in waiting till July 20 before sending similar orders to the general commanding at Niagara was surprising; but if Eustis's letter seemed singular, Dearborn's answer passed belief. For the first time General Dearborn then asked a question in regard to his own campaign—a question so extraordinary that every critic found it an enigma: 'Who is to have command of the operations in upper Canada? I take it for granted that my command does not extend to that distant quarter.'

July 26, when Hull had already been a fortnight on British soil, a week after he wrote that his success depended on coöperation from

Niagara, the only force at Niagara consisted of a few New York militia not cooperating with Hull or under the control of any United States officer, while the major-general of the department took it for granted that Niagara was not in his command. The government therefore expected General Hull, with a force which it knew did not at the outset exceed two thousand effectives, to march two hundred miles, constructing a road as he went; to garrison Detroit; to guard at least sixty miles of road under the enemy's guns; to face a force in the field equal to his own and another savage force in his rear; to sweep the Canadian peninsula of British troops; to capture the fortress at Malden, and the British fleet on Lake Erie—and to do all this without the aid of a man or a boat between Sandusky and Quebec.”*

As has been stated, the council of war decided not to attack Malden without cannon to breach the walls, and Mr. Adams says that their reasons were sufficiently strong. Yet in the next page or two he writes that the army lost respect for their commander in consequence of his failure to attack that fort. What part of the army? Was it the Ohio militia, whose colonels thought their men could not be depended upon for an assault? Or did the two hundred and fifty regulars think themselves capable of taking the fort unassisted? The quality of the militia had been tested, July 19 and 24, when strong detachments had been driven back with loss, and a part of Findlay's Ohio regiment on their way to protect a train of supplies from Ohio had been routed by Indians under Tecumthe. August 3, the garrison of Fort Macinac, sixty-one in number, arrived at Detroit as prisoners on parole, that fort having been captured on the 17th of July, bringing news that Chicago was invested and that a large force of Canadians and Indians were on their way to attack Detroit in the rear. August 7, letters came from Niagara announcing the fact of British reinforcements for Fort Malden. About the same time a letter was intercepted coming from Fort William to Fort Malden, announcing the mustering of twelve hundred fur company employees and five hundred Indians to march against Detroit. Mr. Adams writes, “Hull decided at once to recross the river, and succeeded in effecting this movement on the night of August 8, without interference from the enemy; but his position at Detroit was only one degree better than it had been at Sandwich. He wished to abandon Detroit and retreat behind the Maumee, and August 9 proposed the measure. Colonel Cass replied that if this were done every man of the Ohio militia would refuse to obey, and

* Adams's *History of the United States*, vol. vi. pp. 307-311.

would desert their general, and that the army would fall to pieces if ordered to retreat."

As these Ohio regiments made up four-fifths of General Hull's so-called army, their conduct should be kept in mind. They first mutinied on their way to Detroit. They then clamored to be allowed to invade Canada, and when orders came for that movement many of them refused to go. In three expeditions sent out from Sandwich by General Hull, these troops were repulsed; in the last one, under Major Van Horne, they were routed by a small band of Indians and ran away from the field. When it was decided by their officers that they were not to be relied on for an assault upon Fort Malden, they, officers and men, complained of the delay caused by themselves. Finally, as if in order to prevent the only safe military movement remaining—the retreat toward Ohio—Colonel Cass, their commander, declares that if that retreat is made his men will all desert. The armistice which General Dearborn made with Provost, the British commander, has been the subject of much discussion; General Hull declaring that by allowing Brock to concentrate all the troops in upper Canada against Detroit, it gave the fatal and finishing blow to the campaign; General Dearborn and the government contending that it had no influence on the result. Mr. Adams writes: "Dearborn had been urgently ordered, August 1, to support Hull by a vigorous offensive at Niagara, yet August 9 he agreed with the British general to act only on the defensive at Niagara. Detroit was not under Dearborn's command, and therefore was not included in the armistice, but Dearborn stipulated that the arrangement should include Hull if he wished it. The chance was narrow, for even an armistice unless greatly prolonged would only have weakened Hull, especially as it could not include Indians other than those actually in British service; but even the slight chance was lost by the delay until August 9 in sending advices to Niagara and Detroit, for Brock left Long Point August 8, and was within four days of Detroit when Dearborn wrote from Albany. The last possibility of saving Hull was lost by the inefficiency of the American mail service. Brock with his army of three hundred men, leaving Long Point August 8, reached Malden in the morning of August 13, fully eight days in advance of the armistice."

Immediately after returning to Detroit, General Hull sent nearly half his force, six hundred men, under Colonel Miller of the regulars, to restore his communication with Ohio. It met with a force of about two hundred and fifty British and Indians, which after a sharp engagement were driven to their boats. For some unsatisfactory reason the detachment returned to Detroit without reaching the supplies at the river Raisin. August 13,

the British began to establish a battery on the Canadian side of the river to bombard Detroit. Within the American lines the army was in secret mutiny. The Ohio colonels proposed to remove the general from command, and offered it to Colonel Miller of the fourth regiment, but he declined this promotion. Then the three colonels united in a letter to the governor of Ohio, warning him that the existence of the army depended on the immediate dispatch of at least two thousand men to keep open the line of communication. "Our supplies must come from our state; this country does not furnish them." After showing the desperate situation of General Hull's army, "the last possibility of saving it being lost," Mr. Adams declares "that a good general would have saved Detroit for some weeks, if not altogether. General Hull would soon be starved into surrender, but yet he might have maintained himself a month, and he had always the chance of a successful battle." What chance of successful battle a mutinous body of eight hundred militia had against three times their number of British and Indians, it is difficult to perceive, and in case of defeat an Indian massacre of the people of Detroit was certain.

As governor of the territory General Hull felt bound to protect the helpless people at whatever cost to himself in military reputation. This was his explanation of the surrender at the time; and on his death-bed, in 1825, he repeated his conviction that he had done his duty. Mr. Adams seems to think that the highest duty of a general is to die in battle. So did not think Washington, who in his first campaign surrendered to French and Indians. So did not think Burgoyne and Cornwallis, who, instead of being shot for surrendering their armies, were rewarded by promotion for saving the lives of their men. So did not think the great Napoleon, who saved himself by flight from Waterloo.

Such has been the amount of injustice done to General Hull by ignorant, venal, or prejudiced writers, that Mr. Adams, who evidently wishes to bear a judicial mind, seems absolutely incapable of summing up the case with impartiality. On the 14th of August, Cass and McArthur were ordered by General Hull to select the best men from their regiments, and to open, if possible, a route through the woods to the river Raisin. And here, again, Mr. Adams makes an estimate of the strength of the American force. He says, "The Ohio regiments in May contained nominally about five hundred men each, or fifteen hundred in all." General Hull in his *Memoirs* states that the original call was for twelve hundred men from Ohio, and that was the number that marched, besides about one hundred volunteers who soon disappeared. Says Mr. Adams, "Two months of severe labor, with occasional fighting and much sickness, had probably

reduced the number of effectives about one half." Now, if we deduct from the estimate of Mr. Adams, in May, for two regiments of five hundred each, we have one thousand; deduct one half, five hundred, and the remainder is five hundred; and yet Mr. Adams gives the effective strength of the two Ohio regiments at "perhaps six or seven hundred men"—by what rule of arithmetic it is not explained.

Three hundred and fifty of the men of these regiments marched on the 14th, and the next evening they were half-way to the river Raisin. Mr. Adams writes: "So it happened that on the early morning of August 16 Hull was guarding the fort and town of Detroit with about two hundred and fifty men of the fourth regiment [as the original number in May was three hundred, and Colonel Miller reported his force reduced one half by sickness, one hundred and fifty would be nearer the fact] and such of the Michigan militia and Ohio volunteers as may have been present, all told about a thousand effectives. Hull estimated his force as not exceeding eight hundred men; Major Jessup reported it as one thousand and sixty, including the Michigan militia. If the sickness and loss of strength at Detroit were in proportion to the waste at Niagara, Hull's estimate was perhaps nearer the truth." No doubt it was, as the Michigan militia deserted to the enemy on the 15th. The force with which Brock moved against Detroit has had many different estimates. In his official report he makes his numbers three hundred and thirty regulars, four hundred militia, and six hundred Indians, with five guns. This estimate Mr. Adams adopts. As General Brock reported the capture of a garrison of twenty-five hundred men in Detroit, which was about three times the number actually there, he probably underestimated his own force. At the court-martial, the testimony of Lieutenant Forbush, a prisoner at Fort Malden, showed a force there of one thousand nine hundred and seventy men. Mr. Adams states that Brock brought three hundred men with him. A detachment of British troops under Major Chambers marched across the country with artillery, collecting the militia and Indians, and joined Brock at Malden. In addition to these, General Brock had at his disposal the sailors and marines belonging to the British fleet; there being no American ships to oppose them, their crews might be used on shore.

These three contingents must have added about a thousand men to the force at Malden when Brock arrived there. As to Indians, the hope of massacre, scalps, and plunder had filled the woods with them.

The testimony of Major Snelling, a witness for the prosecution at the court-martial, was to this effect: "He stood at the corner of the slip leading to the gate of the fort of Detroit, and attempted to count the British

troops as they entered." His evidence is rather confused, but as far as it can be understood it seems to imply that Brock's force consisted of regulars and York volunteers in uniform, fifteen hundred; militia not in uniform, seven hundred and fifty—making two thousand two hundred and fifty white troops. He saw only one hundred and fifty Indians, who were drawn up to fire a salute, but supposed there were more. If to these two thousand two hundred and fifty white troops are added the six hundred Indians which Brock includes in his report, the aggregate is two thousand eight hundred and fifty men, which Brock could well spare from his force at Malden of three thousand, having no enemy in his rear. Mr. Adams, adopting Brock's estimate of his force, says that he crossed the river with seven hundred and thirty men. "He intended to take up a strong position and force Hull to attack it; but learning from his Indians that McArthur's detachment, reported as five hundred strong, was only a few miles in his rear, he resolved on an assault, and moved in close column within three-quarters of a mile of the American twenty-four-pound guns. Had Hull prayed that the British might deliver themselves into his hands, his prayer could not have been better answered. Even under trial for his life, he never ventured to express a distinct belief that Brock's assault could have succeeded; and in case of failure the small British force must have retreated a mile and a half under the fire of the fort's heavy guns, followed by an equal force, and attacked in flank and rear by McArthur's detachment, in hearing of battle and making directly toward it."

Mr. Adams underestimates Brock's force by at least two-thirds; and military men know by experience that everything in war is uncertain, and are less likely than civilians to predict the result of movements. Then, how could McArthur's detachment of three hundred and fifty men, with, as Mr. Adams relates on same page, a force of six hundred Indians between them and Brock, assault the latter? Only a few days before, this same Tecumthe with less than a hundred Indians had routed Van Horne with one hundred and eighty men. Were these American guns of which Mr. Adams writes the same from which Captain Snelling withdrew his men that morning without orders and retired to the fort? In order to support his theory that the courage of General Hull (which had carried him through with credit ten battles of the Revolution) failed him under the bombardment of the fort, Mr. Adams selects from the testimony given at the court-martial the evidence of Major Snelling, whose opinion was that the general's use of tobacco in large quantities on that occasion indicated personal fear. This was the Captain Snelling who on the morning of the day of the surrender left his post without orders and marched his

men to the fort, thus making himself liable to a court-martial for the gravest of military offenses; instead of which he was promoted to a majority for his promised testimony, which proved so malignant that he was afterward made a colonel in the regular army. If the immoderate use of tobacco in a commander who finds himself in a critical position indicates cowardice, General Grant must be open to suspicion, for on such occasions he smoked continually. But the few witnesses at the trial who had seen service found no such fear in the conduct of General Hull.

Mr. Adams writes: "Knowing that sooner or later the fort must fall, and dreading massacre for the women and children, and treated with undisguised contempt by the militia officers, anxious for the safety of McArthur and Cass, Hull hesitated, took no measure to impede the enemy's advance, and at last sent a flag across the river to negotiate. A cannon-ball from the enemy's batteries killed four men in the fort, two companies of the Michigan militia deserted, their behavior threatening to leave the town exposed to the Indians, and from that moment Hull determined to surrender on the best terms he could get."

General Hull in his *Defence* thus describes the situation: "Early in the morning of August 16 General Brock landed his forces at the spring wells under cover of the guns of his navy. His effective force was more than three times greater than mine, and he might have brought to his standard more than ten times my number before I could have received any assistance. Being at this time not only general of the army but governor of the territory, and without instructions, all the measures were intrusted to my discretion; being responsible for the safety of the inhabitants, it became my duty to adopt such measures as would effect that object. My situation was such that there was no possibility of affording the inhabitants protection further than the balls from the cannon of the fort could be carried. These inhabitants were scattered over a territory of several hundred miles. The savages had invaded every part of this territory, and while the contest lasted there was nothing which could restrain their barbarity. The work of desolation and cruelty had commenced, and nearly half my effective force was absent; and from the time it had marched, and the orders it had received from me, I had reason to believe it was nearly fifty miles distant. With the feeble force under my command, I did not believe there was the most distant prospect of success in the event of a battle; and had the forces at Detroit been defeated the fate of the detachment under McArthur and Cass would have been inevitable. What, however, was decisive in my mind was my situation even in a possible event of success over British forces. I should have

been without provisions, and I had no means of opening my communication over the lake. It would in this case become a war with savages, who would have been aided by all the remaining forces of upper Canada and the navy on the lake. Had my army, however, not been divided, and had the absent detachment been with me, or had I received information that it had been in a situation where it could have coöperated, I should have risked the consequences of a battle. Under the circumstances which existed, I determined to send a flag of truce, open a treaty, and accept the best terms which could be obtained. By the article of capitulation, protection and safety were secured to the inhabitants of Michigan in their persons and property. All the militia both of Michigan and Ohio returned immediately to their homes, and none were retained as prisoners excepting the few regulars, consisting then of a little over two hundred. This measure, under the circumstances, was dictated in my opinion by a sense of duty, and was attended with less public calamity than any other which could have been adopted; and I was willing to assume and—in my official communication to the government—I took the whole responsibility of it on myself. It required more firmness and independence than any other act of my life. It was dictated by my best judgment and a conscientious regard to what I believed to be my duty; and I now sincerely rejoice, and there has never been a moment when I have not rejoiced that I dared thus independently to do my duty."*

This was written in 1824, twelve years after the surrender of Detroit, and published in Boston, all that time having elapsed before General Hull could obtain copies of the papers and letters necessary to his vindication, from Washington. His requests for them were unanswered, or if replied to were met with the assertion that no such papers were to be found. Mr. John C. Calhoun, when secretary of war, being applied to, immediately ordered copies to be made and sent to General Hull of all the papers in his department that could be found bearing on the case. Some important ones known to have been there were missing. What became of them was probably known only to those interested in their suppression. All of General Hull's baggage and papers were lost in the brig *Adams*, which was used by the British after the surrender as a transport to take the paroled officers and their families to the port of Buffalo. After the passengers were landed near that city the vessel was captured and burned by American sailors under Lieutenant Elliott, and everything belonging to General Hull was lost; a fatal loss to him, these papers being necessary to his defense before the court-martial.

* *Memoirs of the Campaign of 1812.*

General Hull says further: "In the capitulation I made no provision for myself, and was ordered to Montreal as an unconditional prisoner. A provision was made for all the officers and soldiers of the militia, and they immediately returned to their homes. Colonel Cass, taking advantage of my situation, after the indulgence I had procured for him, proceeded directly to Washington, where he was most graciously received by the administration, and then presented an account of the campaign, before it had been possible for me to have made any communication. This letter written by himself, giving particular details of events of which he had no knowledge, as he was absent when they took place, was received by the administration and published as an official account in all the newspapers throughout the United States. While I was a prisoner, my other officers, for whose liberation I had provided, followed Colonel Cass to Washington, and seeing the favors and patronage he had received by his representation imitated him, and were not disappointed in the rewards."

Mr. Adams having shown the imbecility of Secretary Eustis, the inertness and neglect of orders of Dearborn, and the fatal effect of the armistice made by him, the mutinous conduct of the Ohio troops, the want of supplies in Detroit, with no possibility of procuring more, and the superiority of the enemy by land and water, comes to this remarkable conclusion: "If any man in the United States was more responsible than Hull for the result of the campaign, it was ex-President Jefferson, whose system had shut military efficiency from the scope of American government."

This sentence seems to give the key to Mr. Adams's history of the campaign—the undying feud between the Adams and Jefferson clans, and the disposition to prejudice the case of General Hull. "At this time," writes Mr. Adams, "the Canadians outnumbered the American forces at every point of danger on the frontier; not only were they equal or superior to the Americans at Detroit, Niagara, and Montreal, but they could be more readily concentrated, and were quickly supplied. The storm of public wrath which annihilated Hull and shook Eustis passed harmless over the head of Dearborn. No one knew Dearborn was at fault, for he had done nothing; and a general who had done nothing had the advantage over his rivals whose activity or situation caused them to act. Dearborn threw the whole responsibility on the war department."

The conclusion is that the only commander who did anything up to August 16 was selected as the scapegoat for those who, neglecting orders, remained idle; and if General Hull had sat still at Dayton for two months, or had even remained in Detroit, he would have come out all right: but such was not the disposition of one of whom Washington wrote to General

Heath, "He is an officer of great merit, whose services have been honorable to himself and honorable to his country."

As soon as General Hull was exchanged he was placed under arrest, and the administration exhibited charges for capital offences against him. A court-martial, of which General Wade Hampton was president, was summoned at Philadelphia, where General Hull appeared for trial. But this court-martial was dissolved by Madison without giving any reason for its dissolution. After General Hull had been another year under arrest, a new court-martial was summoned, of which General Dearborn was appointed president. Mr. Adams thus describes the transaction: "Meanwhile Hull waited for trial. During the summer of 1813 he saw nearly all his possible judges disgraced and demanding courts-martial like himself. Hampton was one, Wilkinson another, Dearborn a third. Dearborn had been removed from command in face of the enemy, and loudly called for a court of inquiry. Instead of granting this the President assigned him to duty in command of military district No. 3, comprising the city of New York, and made him president of the court-martial upon General Hull.

The impropriety of such a selection could not be denied. Of all men in the United States Dearborn was most deeply interested in the result of Hull's trial; and the President, next to Dearborn, would be most deeply injured by Hull's acquittal. The judgment of Dearborn, or of any court over which Dearborn presided, in a matter which affected both court and government so closely, could not command respect. That Armstrong lent himself to such a measure was a new trait of character, never explained; but that Madison either ordered or permitted it, showed that he must have been unconscious either of Dearborn's responsibility for Hull's disaster, or of his own." Either the above must have been "writ sarkastical," as Mark Twain says, or the confidence of Mr. Adams in the purity of two such astute politicians as Madison and Armstrong is admirable.

Let us now examine the proceedings of the modern court of star-chamber, of which Mr. Adams has nothing to say except to record the verdict, adding "that some one should be punished for the loss of Detroit, and few persons were likely to complain because Hull was a selected victim; but many thought that if Hull deserved to be shot, other men much higher than he in office and responsibility merited punishment; and the character of the court-martial added no credit to the government, which in effect it acquitted of blame."

Few persons now living have read the records of the proceedings of this court. In fact, the book became so rare soon after its publication as to give rise to the belief that it had been suppressed by order of the gov-

ernment, which might well be ashamed of it. "The first court, ordered to assemble at Philadelphia, consisted of Brigadier-Generals Wade Hampton president, James Bloomfield, and H. Burbeck; Colonels E. Izard and A. McComb, artillery; J. Burn, cavalry; J. Simmonds, J. Kingsbury, H. Parker, W. H. Winder, and P. P. Schuyler, infantry; supernumeraries, Lieutenant-Colonels W. Scott, J. Chrystie, and R. Dennis; and A. J. Dallas, judge-advocate. General Hull presented himself before this court February 13, 1813, which was composed of honorable and fairly experienced soldiers—too much so, apparently, to suit the government, which dissolved it and ordered another to convene nearly a year after, at Albany, January 3, 1814, with Henry Dearborn as president, and A. J. Dallas and M. Van Buren as prosecutors, General Hull not being allowed the benefit of counsel. The thirteen officers who formed this court were most of them men just appointed from civil life, without military experience, and they owed their positions in the army to political partisanship, and most of them left the army at the close of the war. Not one of them ever received any kind of promotion for military service, and as far as can be learned not one of the twelve was ever in battle."*

One member of the court, Colonel Conner, was at the time upon the staff of General Dearborn, and a member of his military family, and owed to his influence the promotion to lieutenant-colonel just before the court convened, as well as all previous appointments and promotions. Two other members of the court had been recently promoted, and three other were or had been members of General Dearborn's military family. Such was the composition of the court selected to try on capital charges a veteran soldier of the Revolutionary war; one who had taken part in the most important battles of that war; one who had been twice promoted by Washington; who had twice received the thanks of congress, and, when the army was disbanded at close of war, had been selected by Washington for lieutenant-colonel of the one regiment retained in the service.

Thus far it appears that six distinct provisions of the Constitution of the United States had been violated in this trial. These are the words of that instrument: "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury; . . . to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." First, Hull was refused a speedy trial. Second, he was brought before an

* Speech of Mr. Wheeler of Alabama, February, 1883.

interested instead of an impartial jury. Third, he was not informed of the nature and causes of the accusation. Fourth, he did not have process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and was refused evidence of a documentary character. Fifth, he was refused the right to introduce counsel to assist him in his defense. Sixth, he was not confronted by the witnesses against him. The object of this provision is to have the witnesses confront the court, who are thus to determine credibility, and hence the gross illegality of the order which placed officers on the court to vote on the findings who had not been present, and who had therefore not been confronted by the witnesses for the prosecution. "The Constitution does not limit these provisions to civil trials; and even if it did so, the principles are so just and necessary to all tribunals which seek to dispense justice, that to disregard them would violate any legal procedure."

The proceedings of this court were no less unjust than its organization. The witnesses for the government, from Lieutenant-Colonel Cass of the militia who was made a brigadier-general in the regular army, to Sergeant Forbush who was made a lieutenant, were all promoted for the occasion, none of them having performed any service to entitle them to such preferment. "These witnesses gave their testimony like men arguing a cause. They evidently evinced an anxiety throughout to show that General Hull was to blame in all that occurred. They remembered everything that made against him—nothing that could tell in his favor. This strong determination to do their commander all the mischief in their power, whether arising from prejudice or a worse motive, deprives their testimony of the weight it might otherwise possess. Thus in General Cass's testimony we find a very remarkable power of recollection in regard to some matters, and an equally remarkable forgetfulness as to other things. If any question is asked the answer to which might benefit General Hull, he finds it impossible to remember anything about it. He remembers that the defenses at Malden were poor, and "was of the opinion that the works were not defensible," although at the council of war he thought they were too strong to be attacked by his regiment. He does not recollect about the guns or gun-carriages at Detroit, and is not very sure that the enclosures and platforms were defective. He cannot recollect within four days the time of crossing from Detroit to Canada; he cannot even remember whether Colonel Miller's detachment went to Brownstown before or after the evacuation of Canada. Yet in his letter of September 10 he recollects facts which occurred in Detroit during his absence from that place, such as that of five hundred Ohio militia shedding tears because they were not allowed to fight."*

* Clarke's *History of the Campaign of 1812*, p. 403.

And here another injustice was committed. "The whole concourse of government witnesses were brought into court, and General Cass, the most talented, led off with his evidence, to which the others listened with such care as was thought would prevent the possibility of embarrassing contradictions. General Hull had made so many objections to the various unlawful proceedings of the court, which had in every case been overruled, that he determined not to go through the useless form of further protestations."* In *Hull's Trial* it is stated that "One honorable officer of the court, however, insisted that this tuition of witnesses should not be allowed, but he was promptly rebuked by General Dearborn, who stated that it was not necessary to examine these witnesses separately. Officers were permitted to testify to their recollection of written documents when these documents were themselves under the control of the prosecution, and this, too, even when the defense denied that the documents were such as described by the verbal testimony. The prosecution's witnesses are here worth a passing notice. Their military experience, with few exceptions, had been confined to the two months' service under General Hull, just preceding their capture by General Brock. During these two months their conduct had been insubordinate, mutinous, and almost treasonable. So ignorant were these men of military usage and propriety that they did not conceal the fact of their disobeying General Hull's orders, issued by him in June for the march from Urbana to Detroit; nor his orders to cross into Canada; nor did they deny refusing to march to the Miami, stating that they would desert rather than obey; nor did they deny that two days before the capture of Detroit they were in open mutiny. On the contrary they boasted of these acts. The majority of the court seemed to concur with their witnesses in these views, and apparently commended such disgraceful and unmilitary conduct, all of them failing to observe that the first mutiny and disobedience of these officers was at Urbana, when General Hull first assumed command, with a reputation indorsed by Washington as one of the bravest and most skillful officers of the Revolution. So little did the officers who conducted the prosecution know of military duty and propriety that they even embodied in the charges, 'That the officers and soldiers were induced to lose, and did lose, confidence in the courage and military capacity of their said commander.'"

These men, without military knowledge or experience, were selected to give their opinions regarding General Hull's conduct, and to testify against him. It should be remembered that the acquittal of General Hull

* Mr. Wheeler's speech in congress, February, 1883.

would convict the government and General Dearborn of incompetence and disobedience of orders, and would render these Ohio militia officers liable to punishment for mutiny—certainly the loss of their commissions, perhaps the loss of their lives. Cass, their leader, in addition to promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, over the heads of older soldiers, had in his pocket when he appeared as a witness before this court, his appointment as governor of Michigan. Between ruin and promotion, what wonder at the choice of these men, and that they rendered the services for which they had received their pay in advance? "General Hull was acquitted of the charge of treason, because the principal fact upon which this charge was based would have proved the secretary of war guilty of treason, rather than the general. This fact was his sending a vessel by the lake after war was declared, containing his invalids and hospital stores. But when he had sent the vessel he had received no notice of the declaration of war, though notice might easily have reached him if the proper measures had been taken. Meanwhile the British at Malden had received notice of the declaration of war, in a letter franked by the secretary of the treasury, in consequence of which they captured the vessel." *

General Hull was found guilty on the charge of cowardice. The principal evidence under this charge was that of the militia officers, derived from his personal appearance on the 15th and 16th of August. Now, it must be observed, that these men all testify that they saw General Hull inside the fort and out of danger, while officers like Miller and Maxwell of the regulars, who had seen service, testified that they saw General Hull exposed to the enemy's fire on the advanced line, and that he appeared cool and collected. This was also the testimony of Colonel Watson, Major Munson, and Lieutenant Bacon. That General Hull's countenance should express anxiety on that occasion is natural. His responsibility was great; with a small and mutinous force, cut off from all the assistance which had been promised him, and confronted by overpowering forces by land and water, short of supplies of every kind, and full of solicitude for the safety of the people of Michigan under his charge, he was probably revolving in his mind whether to sacrifice himself or these women and children. These feelings could not be understood by the militia officers, and, apparently, they cannot be realized by Mr. Adams, whose only idea of the duties of a commander seems to be that he should fight.

To save the troops and the civilians intrusted to his care from inevitable and useless slaughter, by the probable sacrifice of his own reputation, demanded a higher courage than that necessary for death in battle.

* Clarke's *History of the Campaign of 1812*, p. 405.

As a specimen of the kind of evidence presented by the government, the following is an extract from the letter of Colonel Cass, upon which the proceedings of the court were founded: "On the day of the surrender we had fifteen days' provisions of every kind on hand. It was calculated that we could readily procure three months' provisions, independent of one hundred and fifty barrels of flour and thirteen hundred head of cattle, which had been promised from Ohio, and which remained at the river Raisin, under Captain Brush, within reach of the army." Testimony at this trial showed that on the 16th of August there was not five days' provision in the fort. As to the cattle and flour at the river Raisin, we have seen that before General Brock crossed the river, Major Van Horn and Colonel Miller had both attempted to reach it, the one with two hundred, and the other with six hundred men, and that both had failed. Cass gives no authority for his statement, he says "it was calculated." Who made the calculation does not appear. But it is very remarkable that only one month before the date of this letter, and four days before the surrender, Colonel Cass should have made quite a different statement to Governor Meigs. In a letter to Governor Meigs of Ohio, dated August 12, Colonel Cass writes: "The letter of the secretary of war to you authorizes you to preserve and keep open the communication from the state of Ohio to Detroit. It is all important that it should be kept open. Our very existence depends upon it. Our supplies must come from our state. This country does not furnish them. Nothing but a large force of two thousand men, at least, will effect the object." On the trial, Willis Silliman, a brother-in-law of Colonel Cass, testified that he received a letter from Cass, dated August 12, which said: "Our situation is become critical—bad as you may think of our situation, it is still worse than you believe. I cannot descend into particulars lest this should fall into the hands of the enemy." This did happen, for General Brock in a letter of September 3 to the British authorities, says: "I got possession of the letters of my antagonist, addressed to the secretary of war, and also of the sentiments which hundreds of his army uttered to their friends."

Silliman testified that he had another letter from Colonel Cass, dated August 3, in which he urged him to use his exertions to hasten the march of troops from Ohio, and said that men and provisions were both necessary; and that provisions are, or would be, necessary for the existence of the troops. Thus we see, that on the third of August, Colonel Cass writes that provisions are necessary, or soon will be, to the existence of the army; and on the trial he swears, that in his opinion, provisions, on the sixteenth of August, might be procured sufficient for three or four months. Which

of these statements should be believed? The packed court accepted the latter, and for these eminent services Colonel Cass became brigadier-general, and governor of Michigan territory.

"General Hull had been refused the aid of counsel; but many days were occupied in speeches by Martin Van Buren and A. J. Dallas, counsel employed by the prosecution, and another atrocity was found necessary. Nearly three months had elapsed since the court commenced its sittings. Members had been absent much of the time, and now General Dearborn found that the votes of these absent members were necessary to his purposes, and an order is produced, allowing absent members to resume their seats. Pursuant to this unlawful ruling, absent members were brought back, and voted upon the finding of the court; and this, too, against the protest of members of the tribunal; and thus ended the most atrocious outrage which was ever perpetrated under the form of justice."

Captain De Hart, in his work on courts martial, writes: "If a member of a court martial should for any cause be absent from his seat during the course of the trial he can not resume it. It would have been considered vacated, and he is excluded from any further participation in the trial. All the members of a court martial must be present during the proceedings on the reception of testimony; and resumption of his place by a member who has been absent for any period while proceedings were going on, would vitiate the judgment of the court." A case of this description is quoted in the work, in which the reviewing authority set aside the verdict of the court on account of this irregularity. O'Brien, in his work on American military courts, says: "When it is a question of military science, to affect the officer on trial, questions of opinion are inadmissible. For it is obvious that the court has met for nothing else than to try that question, and they have before them the facts in evidence, on which to ground their conclusions. Courts martial should be very cautious in receiving evidence as to opinion, in all instances." These important rules were both violated by Dearborn and his court, and its finding, according to military authorities, was vitiated; but President Madison approved of its finding, and that with such indecent haste as showed a foregone conclusion.

Madison was looking for reelection, and, next to Dearborn and Eustis, was more interested in the success of the prosecution than any other person. The conspiracy was successful. General Hull was made the victim. Madison was reelected. Dearborn and Eustis were rewarded with foreign missions, Cass with the governorship of Michigan, and the militia officers who had testified against their commander, with promotion. Those, however, who testified in his favor, got no promotion, and Lieuten-

ant Bacon, an excellent officer, was dropped from the new regiment. All General Hull's correspondence with the government being lost with his baggage by the burning of the *Adams* on Lake Erie, and he unable to procure copies from Washington until 1824, his *Memoirs of the Campaign of 1812* were not published until 1825. This work changed public opinion as to the responsibility for the surrender of Detroit wherever it was read, and his fellow-citizens of Massachusetts, without distinction of party, gave him a public dinner in Boston to show their sense of sympathy with him in his unmerited misfortunes. Many other testimonials of like character came to him in his last years, especially from soldiers who had served with him and under him in the war of the Revolution.

Most historians of that period have copied their accounts from the government organs and other partisan works, but a few, like Lossing, Sparks, and Patton, have investigated the matter for themselves, and have come to the conclusion that General Hull was sacrificed to save the reputation of Madison's administration. Ancient history tells us that in the wars between Carthage and Rome, Carthage was no less the enemy of Hannibal than Rome; and a more treacherous enemy, for he depended upon her for help and she failed him almost uniformly. So did the modern republic treat her general in 1812. J. F. Clarke in his *Memorial Sketches* says: "History has at last reached the position in which its final verdict for William Hull is entire acquittal. His condemnation still stands on the records of our army, but it was the nation which was condemned by that sentence, and not Hull. He had the one never-failing support, the consciousness of having done his duty. On this point he never expressed a doubt. He maintained to the last, and repeated on his deathbed, his conviction that he had done right in this act which had brought upon him such unmerited misfortune. It is, however, probable that General Hull, fallen on evil days and tongues, was quite as happy and fully as contented as when his life led from one success to another. The 'stupid starers and the loud huzzas' were gone, but the self-approval remained. Cast down but not destroyed, persecuted but not forsaken, he realized the description of the poet:

'Thou hast been
As one, in suffering all, that suffers nothing;
A man that fortune's buffets and rewards
Hast taken with equal thanks.'

MARIETTA, GEORGIA.

Saml b Clarke

REV. CHARLES H. PARKHURST, D.D.

The following extract from the *Christian Union* of recent date will interest our readers in every part of the land, as Dr. Parkhurst, who is universally recognized as "one of the foremost prophet-preachers of America," is among our eminent contributors, and his fine portrait will be remembered as forming the frontispiece to the November issue, 1890, in connection with his brilliant chapter "Divine Drift in Human History."

"Dr. Parkhurst is a curious intermingling of the best type of the ancient and the modern preacher. Give him the monk's costume, and he might sit to the painter for an ideal monk of the intellectual-spiritual type. His forehead is high, his features clear-cut, his face refined, his eye keen and piercing. Even in repose or in social intercourse the spirituality of his face impresses the beholder. In the pulpit the fires that burn within shine through this translucent face and flame like coals of fire in those keen eyes. More intense preacher there is not in the American pulpit; albeit his intensity shows itself by methods wholly his own. His eloquence is that of deliberation. His style is epigrammatic—to a fault. But the epigram soon ceases to impress the hearer as an artifice; he feels it to be partly due to a rare literary quality, but still more to an intensity of thought and feeling which instinctively seeks the fewest possible words for its expression. He is aphoristic as the Sermon on the Mount is aphoristic. His extravagances are those of a poet, to whom no language is extravagant which is employed to utter the intensity of his emotion. His words flash because his heart burns.

He is a man of audacious courage because of absolute faith. Fear is the child of unbelief. The man who fears for the Bible or the Church or Christianity does so, always, because he lacks faith either in God or in man. Dr. Parkhurst has faith in both. He believes that Christianity is adapted to the universal needs of humanity; he believes that humanity has a capacity—God-given—to apprehend and accept Christianity. His courage carries with it a great hope. He believes—really believes—that one with God is a majority; and he constantly acts on that belief. He never sounds a retreat, and never utters a word of discouragement. We doubt whether his congregation ever heard from him what is known in theology as an "apologetic" sermon. He is never seen on the defense. His way of defending Christian faith is to march at the head of marshaled truth in an

attack on error or wickedness. He defends the Church as Grant defended Washington—by moving on the enemy.

With all this intensity of spiritual conviction and consequent courageous hopefulness, he resembles neither the mystics nor the monks. He belongs neither to the Pietists nor to the Puritans. He is intense without being narrow, bold without being pugnacious, and spiritual without being ascetic. He lives in the nineteenth century, moves with its current, thinks in its thought, and speaks its language. The modern spirit in him summons him to the attack which he is making to-day against a corrupt city government; the intense spiritual life in him gives him the courage for this attack; for he really believes that the conscience of our New York City is more than a match for its corrupt politicians, and that this conscience is not dead but sleeping.

Such a man, as might be expected, is pre-eminently a manly preacher. In his church is seen every Sunday the unusual spectacle of a congregation of which one-half or more is composed of men. His is not the wealthiest church in the city, but we doubt whether any other church contains a larger proportion of distinctively intellectual men. He attracts large numbers of young men. His military spirit fascinates them; his courage inspires them; his visions of truth flash on them like a new revelation.

The work of such a man is not to be measured by the number of additions to the church under his ministry. Whether this is large or not we do not know. We suspect it is not larger than the average; perhaps it may even be less. But to thousands to whom the Christian religion was but a rule of pious decorum he has given a new conception of that religion as an inspired and divine life; and to thousands of others to whom the Christian religion was but a gateway to green pastures and still waters, he has given a new conception of that religion as a life of fearless heroism in the ways of practical righteousness."

DID THE NORSE DISCOVER AMERICA?

For centuries after the Atlantis of the ancients was sunk beneath the sea by "extraordinary earthquakes and deluges," a vast unknown ocean stretched west of Europe, where sea and sky mingled, where shoals impeded navigation, and monsters and demons waited to destroy the too daring mariner who ventured on its waters. About the beginning of the middle ages the vikings of the north began pushing out of sight of land in their single-masted, many-oared galleys. Having neither charts nor compass to guide them, they carried hawks or ravens, and when uncertain respecting the course of their vessels, let loose a cast of these birds, which instinctively flew to the nearest land. Driven by storms across the North sea, they discovered the Shetland and Faroe islands, and later, in 861, Naddod, a Norwegian pirate, was drifted in his ship by an adverse wind to Iceland, which he called Sneeland (Snowland). The oppression of Harald Fairhair, king of Norway, now drove the more high-spirited chieftains to leave the country, and many of the uninhabited lands were thus settled. The colony in Iceland grew within half a century into a sturdy little republic, counting among its citizens people from England, Ireland, Scotland, Flanders, and other countries of northern Europe.

But Iceland was not long to remain the most remote part of the western world known to Europeans. Gunnbjorn first saw land to the west, which was visited in 981 by Eirek the Red, and called by him Greenland, "for," said he, "it will make men's minds long to go there if the land has a fine name." Two colonies were soon planted in the new country by these restless rovers of the deep, not as has been supposed on the east and west coasts, but the eastern settlement (*eystri bygd*) near Cape Farewell, and the western (*vestri ubyga*) probably still farther north. Among those whom Eirek induced to return with him as colonists to Greenland was a Norwegian named Herjulf. It is told in the saga of Eirek the Red, that Bjarni, son of Herjulf, a promising young man who had acquired much property and honor abroad, learning of his father's departure, on his return to Iceland, determined to go in search of him. Never having been before in the Greenland sea he expressed to his men some doubt as to the wisdom of their undertaking. "Nevertheless, when they were ready they set out to sea, and after three days' sailing land was out of sight, and the fair winds ceased, and northern winds with

fog blew continually, so that for many days they did not know in what direction they were sailing. Then the sun came into sight and they could distinguish the quarters of heaven. They hoisted sail and sailed all day before they saw land. They wondered what land this could be, and Bjarni said he did not think it was Greenland. The men asked if he wished to sail towards it, and he answered that he wanted to go near it; this they did, and soon saw that it had no mountains, but low hills, and was forest-clad. They kept the land on their left, but the corners of the sail were toward the land. Then they sailed for two days before they saw other land. They asked Bjarni if he did not think this was Greenland. He answered: 'No; it is very unlike, I think, for very large glaciers are said to be in Greenland.' They soon approached the land, and saw that it was flat and covered with woods. Then the fair wind fell, and the sailors said they thought it best to land, as they lacked both wood and water, but Bjarni did not want to land, and said they had enough left; at this the men grumbled somewhat. He told them to set sail, which they did, and turned the prow seaward, and sailed in that direction with a south-westerly wind for three days, and then more land came in view which rose high with mountains and a glacier. They asked Bjarni if he would like to go ashore there, but he answered he would not do so as the land had an inhospitable look. They did not furl their sail, but sailed along the shore and saw it was an island. They once more turned the prow of the ship from the shore and set to sea with the same fair wind, but the gale increased, and Bjarni told them to take in a reef and not sail so fast, for the ship and its rigging could not stand it. They sailed four days, until they saw land for the fourth time, which was Greenland, and here Bjarni found his father."

The report of Bjarni Herjulfsson, little as he had to tell, aroused the interest of the people and caused much talk of land discoveries. It is further related that Leif, son of Eirik the Red, bought Bjarni's ship, and gathering together thirty-five men set sail upon a voyage of discovery. The year 1000 A.D. has been fixed as the approximate date of this voyage by a comparison of circumstances related in different sagas. Nothing is said of the direction in which these Northmen sailed, only that "they came first to the land (or region) last seen by Bjarni. They sailed towards it, cast anchor, put out a boat and went ashore, but saw no grass. Large glaciers covered the highlands of the interior, and between them and the sea was a plain of flat stones." Leif called the region Helluland.* Proceeding farther they came upon a sandy beach with level forest country

* From *hella*, a flat stone.

stretching behind it. "This land," said Leif, "shall be named after its properties and be called Markland" (Woodland).

They sailed thence out to sea with a north-east wind for two days before they saw land. This proved to be an island lying before the north part of the land. Here they went ashore, and tasting the dew upon the grass found it sweet. "Then they returned to the ship and sailed into the channel which was between the island and a tongue of land running toward the north. There the water was very shallow and their ship went aground, and at ebb-tide the sea was far out from the ship. But they were so anxious to get ashore that they could not wait till the high water reached their ship, and leaped out on the beach where a river flowed from a lake. When the high water set their ship afloat they took their boat and rowed to the ship and towed it up the river into the lake. Here they resolved to pass the winter and built large houses. There was no lack of salmon in the river and lake, and they were larger than any they had before seen. So great was the fertility of the soil that they were led to believe that cattle would not be in want of food during winter or that wintry coldness would prevail or the grass wither much.

One evening it happened that they missed one of their men—Tyrker the southerner. Leif was much grieved at this, for Tyrker had long been with him, and his foster-father had been very fond of Leif in his childhood. He upbraided his men harshly, and made ready to go and search for him with twelve men. A short way from the house Tyrker met them and was welcomed back. Leif soon saw that his foster-father was in high spirits. He had a high projecting forehead, unsteady eyes, a tiny face, and was little and wretched, but skilled in all kinds of handicraft. 'Why art thou so late, foster-father, and why hast thou parted from thy followers?' Leif asked. Then his foster-father spoke in Thyrská, and rolled his eyes in many directions and made wry faces. They did not understand what he said. After a while he spoke in the northern tongue (Norrœna) and said: 'I did not go much farther than you, but I can tell some news. I found a vine and grapes.' 'Is this true, foster-father?' Leif asked. 'Certainly it is,' he answered, 'for I was born where there was neither lack of vine nor grapes.' They slept there that night, and in the morning Leif said to his sailors: 'Now we will do two kinds of work: one day you shall gather grapes or cut vines, the other you shall fell trees so that I may load my ship.' When spring came, having loaded the ship, they made ready to depart, and Leif named the land after its fruits, Vinland (Wineland). Then they put to sea and had fair winds till they saw Greenland and its glaciers."

In another saga, that of Thorfinn Karlsefne and Snorro Thorbrandson, we read of an attempt at settlement made by the Northmen in Vinland about the year 1007. Thorfinn Karlsefne had come from Norway to Greenland and there married Gudrid, widow of Thorstein Eireksson. Both she and others strongly urged him to go to Vinland, and not in vain, for an expedition under his command soon left the western settlement. After sailing two days southward from Greenland they reached Helluland. "Thence they sailed two days and turned from the south to the south-east," and came to Markland. After leaving Markland it is said in the saga that "they then sailed far to the southward along the coast and came to a promontory. The land lay on the right and had a long, sandy beach. They rowed to it and found on a tongue of land the keel of a ship. They called this point of land Kjalarnes (Keel cape), and the beach Furdustrandir (Long Strand), for it took a long time to sail by it. . . . Farther on they came into a bay where there was an island around which flowed rapid currents that suggested the name they gave it, Straumey (Stream island). There were so many eider ducks on the island that one could hardly walk about without stepping on their eggs. They took the cargo from the ship and made preparations to remain there. They undertook nothing but the exploration of the land. Without having provided food beforehand they sustained themselves there during the winter. In summer the fishing was not good and they were in want of provisions. They had previously prayed to God to give them food, but were not supplied as quickly as they thought their hunger demanded. Having found a stranded whale they cut it up. No one knew what kind of whale it was, and when the cook prepared a part of it for them they ate it and all were made sick." Finally "the weather favored them so that they were able to row out to fish, and thereafter they were not in want of food, for wild game was caught on land and fish in the sea, and eggs were collected on the island." . . .

"It is said that Thorhall (the hunter) resolved to go northward along Furdustrandir to explore Vinland, but Karlsefne determined to sail southward along the coast. Thorhall fitted out his vessel under the island, having not more than nine men to join him, for all the others went with Karlsefne. Now when Thorhall carried water to his ship he sang these verses:

'People told me when I came
Hither, all would be so fine;
The good Vinland, known to fame,
Rich in fruits and choicest wine;
Now the water-pail they send,
To the fountain I must bend;
Nor from out this land divine
Have I quaffed one drop of wine.'

When they were about to depart and had hoisted sail, Thorhall again sang:

'Let our trusty band
Haste to Fatherland;
Let our vessel brave
Plow the angry wave,
While those few who love
Vinland here may rove,
Or, with idle toil,
Fetid whales may boil,
Here on Furdustrand,
Far from Fatherland.'

It is now told of Karlsefne that he with Snorro and Bjarni and their people sailed southward along the coast. They sailed a long time until they came to a river which ran out from the land and through a lake into the sea. The river was quite shallow and no ship could enter it without high water. Karlsefne sailed with his people into its mouth and called the place Hóp.* They found fields of wild wheat where the ground was low, and wine wood where it was higher. There was a great number of all kinds of animals in the woods. They remained at this place a half-month and enjoyed themselves, but did not find anything novel. They had their cattle with them. Early one morning when they were viewing the country they saw a great number of skin boats on the sea. The people in them rowed nearer and with curiosity gazed at them. These people were swart (*svartir*) and ugly, and had coarse hair, large eyes, and broad cheeks. They remained a short time and watched Karlsefne's people. They then rowed to the southward beyond the cape. When spring drew near the natives again visited the Northmen and trafficked with them. The people preferred red cloth, and for this they gave skins and all kinds of furs. They also wanted to purchase swords and spears, but Karlsefne and Snorro would not sell them any weapons. For a whole skin the Skraelings (Skraelingar) took a piece of red cloth a span long and bound it around their heads. In this way they bartered for a time. Then the cloth began to diminish, and Karlsefne and his men cut it into small strips not wider than one's finger, and still the Skraelings gave as much as they had for the larger pieces and often more. It happened that a bull which Karlsefne had with him ran out from the wood and bellowed loudly. This frightened the Skraelings so much that they rushed to their boats and rowed away to the southward around the coast." Three weeks afterward a large number of Skraelings returned in their boats uttering loud cries. "Karlsefne's

* From *hópa*, to recede. *Hóp*, a recess, haven, bay, inlet.

men took a red shield and held it toward them. The Skraelings leaped from their boats and began an attack. Many missiles fell among the Northmen, for the Skraelings used slings (*valslöngur*). Karlsefne's men saw that they had raised on a pole something resembling an air-filled bag of a blue color. They hurled this at Karlsefne's party, and when it fell to the ground it exploded with a loud noise. This frightened Karlsefne and his men so much that they ran and fell back to the river, for it seemed to them that the Skraelings were enclosing them on all sides. They did not stop until they reached a rocky place, where they stoutly resisted their assailants." Having compelled them to flee, "Karlsefne and his men perceived that notwithstanding the country was fruitful they would be exposed to many dangerous incursions of its inhabitants if they should remain in it. They therefore determined to depart and return to their own land."

Five expeditions to Vinland are related in the sagas. Adam of Bremen (1073) says it was told him by the king of Denmark that Vinland was an island. "Moreover, he said that an island had been discovered by many in that ocean, which is called Vinland because vines grow spontaneously there, producing excellent wine. For that fruits abound there not having been sown, we are assured not by any vague rumor but by the trustworthy report of the Danes." Vitalis (1140) and Saxo Grammaticus (1200) barely mention Vinland. The Northmen, it seems, continued their visits to the country up to the fourteenth century; then all is oblivion.

The proof of the Norse discovery of America rests entirely upon documentary evidence, and they are "poets but not antiquaries," says Laing, who attempt to strengthen their case by an appeal to "imaginary runes and the identification of places." Nevertheless, there have been many of these "poets," each of whom has established to his own satisfaction the locality of the Norse Vinland, but their testimonies agree not together. Professor Charles C. Rafn in the *American Antiquities* identified the Landfall of Leif Eireksson with Mount Hope Bay, Rhode Island; and Professor Eben N. Horsford, in a pamphlet entitled *Defenses of Norumbega*, just published, with Boston harbor. Of the documents, the *Heims kringla*, an old manuscript chronicle of the kings of Norway written by Snorre Sturlason, the "Northern Herodotus," in the thirteenth century, contains the bare statement, "Leif also found Vinland the Good." Two sagas in the celebrated *Codex Flatoiensis*, those of Eric the Red and Thorfinn Karlsefne, give an account, as we have seen, of voyages to Helluland, Markland, and Vinland.

How far are the sagas reliable? Where was Vinland?

The sagas relate the heroic deeds of the early Northmen, the prose narrative being interspersed with metrical passages selected for the most part from verses sung by the Skalds to celebrate the exploits of the illustrious families under whose protection and patronage they lived. "It was not the political importance of an event that induced the Skalds to make it the subject of a lay; they chose it for effect, and selected that which most interested the feelings of their auditors and at the same time best admitted of poetical ornament." The sagas may be divided into mythical, romantic, and historical. In the first class are included those which, whilst they introduce mythical personages and supernatural events, give a faithful picture of the national manners, feelings, and prejudices; the second include those in which the authors give full scope to their imagination; while the third may be considered as historical. But, strictly speaking, no one of these divisions can be said to comprise any saga as a whole, since they are nearly all more or less embellished with mythological and poetical fables. How much of any saga we are called upon to accept as historical may be believed?

In the account of the third voyage to Vinland, for instance, contained in the saga of Eirek the Rød, it is told that a plague broke out among the followers of Thornstein Eireksson, and Grimhild, wife of Thornstein the Black, died. While her husband was gone from the room "to fetch a board on which to lay the body," Thornstein Eireksson said, "Strange does our housewife look now, for she rises on her elbow, draws up her feet, and searches for her shoes with her hand." When her husband returned, Grimhild lay down and every timber of the room creaked. Then Thornstein Eireksson's illness grew worse, and he died. While they were all in the room the dead man rose and said, "Where is Gudrid?" (his wife). Three times he repeats the question, but she is silent. He then tells that he is in heaven himself and prophesies Gudrid's fate. In this blending of history and myth it is often impossible to distinguish between the two, for myths may be written in which there are neither heroes nor impossible occurrences.

Moreover, the accounts of the Vinland voyages, whatever they may have been originally, were handed down by word of mouth for two hundred years before they were written, and then rendered into script at a time when, in addition to the inevitable changes produced by long oral tradition, there was superadded the spirit of romance borrowed from the south of Europe. Even in the estimation of the Scandinavians themselves much of the saga record is indistinguishable from myth, leaving little besides the general drift of the story to be held of the nature of

history. Horn says of the *Codex Flatoiensis*, "The book was written toward the close of the fourteenth century by two Icelandic priests, and contains in strange confusion and wholly without criticism a large number of sagas, poems, and stories." One of these sagas, that of Eirek the Red, is in the opinion of Rask, a leading Norse authority, "somewhat fabulous, written long after the event, and taken from tradition."

The case for the Norse discovery was well put by the committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which after long delay finally decided to raise a monument to Leif Eireksson in Boston: "There is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Eireksson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon; they are both traditions accepted by later writers. . . . It is antecedently probable that the Norsemen discovered America in the early part of the eleventh century; but that discovery is confirmed by the same sort of historical tradition, not strong enough to be called evidence, upon which our belief in many of the facts of history rests."

Where was Vinland? It has been variously located all the way from Greenland to Africa. An old geographical document supposed to have been written before the time of Columbus describes the island of Vinland as lying on the opposite side of a channel between it and Greenland: "Now is to be told what lies opposite Greenland, out from the bay already mentioned. Furdustrandir is the name of a land. There are such hard frosts there that it is not habitable as far as known. South of it is Helluland, which is called Skraelings land. From there it is not far to Vinland the Good, which some think goes out from Africa." The map of Sigurd Stephanius (1570) places Vinland north of the straits of Belle Isle, and separates it by a "wild sea" from the "America" of the Spaniards. This map, however, was made after the discoveries of Columbus and his successors had become generally known in Europe, and was an attempt to reconcile the tales of the sagas with the new beliefs. On all the early maps of Greenland, Helluland, Markland, and Vinland are represented as regions of that country. Further, the statements respecting the great number of eider ducks, the skin boats used by the natives, the scarcity of food among the Northmen, and their eating the flesh of a stranded whale to escape starvation, and the sarcastic language of the song sung by Thorhall about Vinland being a land of wine—all establish the fact that this country or region was very near the Arctic circle.

The length of the shortest day in Vinland, given in the saga as from *dagmal*, or day-meal time, to *cykt* time, has been interpreted by Professor Rafn to indicate the latitude of Mount Hope Bay, Rhode Island (41° 24'

10" N.), but the definition of these terms in the law of Iceland, the statement of Torfæus and other northern authorities make *dagmal* between eight and nine in the morning, and *eykt* time between three and four in the afternoon. Torfæus, in his *History of Ancient Vinland*, says that on the shortest day the sun was six hours above the horizon, thus placing Vinland between the fifty-eighth and sixty-first parallels of north latitude.

Every other locality visited by the Northmen shows evidence of their occupation of the soil. In Greenland considerable architectural remains, such as the ruins of churches, attest their presence; but there is not a single trace of them in America south of Davis strait. Among the inscriptions on the Dighton rock, lying on the east side of the Taunton river in Massachusetts, was one thought to be in runic characters; but archæologists now agree as to the Indian origin of this as well as the other inscriptions. Interpreted by an Indian, the rock-writing is an account of a battle fought by the people of two tribes, and engraved by some or one of the members of the victorious party. As to the round tower at Newport being a Norse monument, it is mentioned by Governor Arnold of Rhode Island in his will as "my stone-built windmill." Arnold, the first governor of Rhode Island, living at Newport, in his will dated December 20, 1677, directed that his body should be buried at a certain spot, "being and lying in my land, in or near the line or path from my dwelling-house leading to my stone-built windmill, in the town of Newport." There is another mill of similar construction near Leamington, in Warwickshire, England, where Arnold lived when a boy. This mill was built according to a plan first introduced into England by Inigo Jones.

Does not our wider knowledge influence us in estimating the work of the Norse? They discovered Greenland, as is indisputably established, but Greenland was a new and vast land, and its exploration a great work—greater to them than to us who know how much more lies beyond it. That the Northmen sailed south along the coast of America is not improbable, but it *cannot be proved*.

B. H. Dow Brd.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA.

THE YOUTH OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

AN AUTHENTIC RECORD

Habits make the man, manners the gentleman, reason, judgment and enterprise, with well-directed industry, the successful and exemplary citizen. Is genius innate or acquired, and is it possible in the child life of an individual to discover indications of capabilities and of character? Dress, education, and conventionalities of an age give almost as much sameness to the conduct and appearance of a people as does the brickmaker's mold to the clay he works. Want of intercourse with the world influences not only the customs but the mental and physical characteristics of communities, causing them to become almost as uniform as the dress they wear. Nevertheless it is, I apprehend, a universal vanity to think ourselves endowed with special talents and so commendable that they ought to be indulged. Many, though quite deficient in energy and perseverance, believe they have great aptitude for the affairs of life—superior, indeed, to their neighbors, which they could demonstrate if they tried or had the opportunity.

People acquire the routine of every-day life almost automatically, but under varying degrees of moral concepts, ethical culture, and notions of obligations and duty. Nevertheless, implanted in the minds of all is the idea of a greater than themselves and an admiration for the leader, the seer, and the prophet. No clime, age or race has an exclusive prerogative to either the genius, the mental powers, the virtues or the vices which distinguish a people, and alone elevate or degrade nations. Yet while there is great sameness, when the race is viewed as a unit, among individuals are much diversity of brain power and aptness for pursuits, with degrees of reason and self-control, which lie at the foundation of all the virtues. From time to time characters possessing, to a phenomenal degree, the heroic and philanthropic virtues spring unexpectedly and without special training into prominence, and become leaders of the world.

George Washington was one of the most conspicuous illustrations of this fact, in history. Many believe he was expressly created, preserved, and directed by Providence for the special work he performed for his country. A people may have surprises of this nature, but Providence is methodical and has no accidents. Were the child life and early youth of

George Washington entirely commonplace and without indication of the greatness of the coming man? We think not. It would be hazardous to attempt to fix the age in days, months or years in the life of an individual when impressions for good or evil may first be made as object lessons, and which exercise a dominating influence in after-life. It is believed precepts imbibed in early youth possess a controlling influence over actions in mature and even in old age. If the theory be correct, that much of what is greatest in great men may be traced to the nobility of character in their mothers, what a debt of gratitude the world owes to that worthy Virginia matron, Mary Washington.

From his tenderest years the teacher of George Washington, by example and precept, was his firm, tender, and sensible mother, to whose benign influence he attributed whatever of virtue he possessed. Biographers furnish the names of two of his school-teachers; it is, however, probable that he had others. The first was a Mr. Hobby, a tenant of his father's, who was also sexton of the parish Oberwharton, in Stafford county, Virginia, and taught in one of the "old field school-houses" near by. George's studies under him, were, of course, of the simplest kind, as reading, writing, and ciphering, but the bright boy had at the same time the moral influence of a good home and the example and instruction of conscientious parents. He was not born to or reared in any enervating luxuries or those leading to effeminacy or evil environments. Parental influence and his school-tasks satisfied his demands and prepared him for the self-denials and hardships of the surveyor's tent, the frontier cabin, and the camp of the patriot soldier. The other teacher, Mr. Williams, conducted a more advanced school in Westmoreland, to which George was sent shortly after his father's death, boarding meantime with his half-brother, Augustine. It was at this school that he made his greater advances and acquired his proficiency in mathematics and surveying. Notwithstanding the embarrassment of a limited education, by force of genius and manly perseverance he supplied the deficiencies and discharged with distinguished ability the trusts of as heavy responsibilities as ever rested upon any man. As a pupil he was noted for his punctual attendance, orderly conduct, devotion to study, and his popularity with his school-fellows. He was the preferred umpire in their disputes, the leader in their sports of running, leaping, wrestling, pitching the bar and other games.

When George was between seven and eight years of age his half-brother Lawrence returned from England with a good education. He possessed a fine manly figure, and was the beau ideal of George, who saw

in him the model man of business, with the manners of a gentleman. Lawrence, although fourteen years older than George, looked with admiration upon his brother, whom he found companionable much beyond what his age might suggest, and whose expanding intellect and perfect rectitude of character merited the highest regard. It is probable that the ensign's commission in the British navy procured for George in 1746 was obtained through Major Lawrence Washington and his friends, but doubtless the boy, listening to the tales of brave deeds and glory to be won, acquiesced in their views and would have gone into navy service had not his mother objected. Washington was already an advanced pupil in the school of self-control, and gave no outward evidence of disappointment at his mother's decision. No sulks or poutings; no attempts to run away from home and go to sea in defiance of maternal authority, but for another year or more he continued at school under the immediate influence of his mother and his elder brothers. Throughout all of Washington's writings, whenever reference is made to his mother, either in his youth, mature manhood or advanced age, it is done with the most becoming and dutiful respect.

George's neatly kept school copy-book, made between the age of thirteen and sixteen years, still in good condition, and preserved in the Department of State, exhibits his fine penmanship, proficiency, and accuracy, as well as his aptness in mathematical demonstration and drawing of geometrical figures and plats of surveys. From early youth he had a mental method of his own for analyzing questions coming before him for consideration, examining them in their immediate and remote effects, and generally reaching conclusions that were just. From boyhood he was noted for sound judgment and ability to concentrate the powers of his mind almost at will upon any given subject. He early acquired a mastery of method, and in all the affairs of life it never deserted him. While not demonstrative in his temperament he was politely social and strongly attached to his friends. His occupations from an early period led him into association with persons older than himself.

While attentive and respectful to ladies he was never what, at this day, would be called a "ladies' man." A good and entertaining conversationalist, he was never a ready public speaker. Even in advanced life, while reading his carefully prepared state papers, he exhibited much nervousness. Without having a loud voice he was a clear and deliberate reader. The earliest records of his independent opinions apart from his school-books, if we except his agency in formulating his version of the "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour," are to be found in "A Journal of My Journey Over the Mountains," begun March 11, 1747-8, when he was just

one month over sixteen years of age. Washington held a commission from William and Mary College as a public surveyor. A record of this fact was made at Culpeper Court House, July 22, 1749, but it is probable he was a licensed surveyor several years before that. Even at this age he possessed not only the expert knowledge of a surveyor, but exhibited surprising fortitude and perseverance, associating with business men in a business way and discharging important trusts with a steadiness of purpose and ability which elicited universal commendation. By his genius, perseverance, and attainments as a surveyor he achieved a reputation for meritorious performances at the age of sixteen above all contemporaries. Washington attained his full stature before his twentieth year, was an athlete of the first order—tall, strong, and of graceful carriage. He was a skillful horseman, fond of field sports, and accustomed to vigorous and prolonged exertion.

He was neat and careful in his dress, but not the least inclined to foppishness. Whatever he made use of or wore he wished to be in good taste and the best of its kind. He was fond of children, considerate of the feelings of others, kind and liberal to servants, punctual to engagements, circumspect in his intercourse with people in general, painstaking and explicit in his business transactions. A memorandum in his journal of 1748 gives minute directions to his tailor, which begin as follows: "Have my coat made by the following directions to be made a Frocke with Lapel Breast," etc. The memorandum is long and very specific in its directions. Nor did he neglect to study what was becoming in manners and deportment, as is manifested in his version of the "Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour," of whose underlying principles he was master in a high degree. His habit of noting his personal expenses has preserved for us the following fact: "September 10, 1748, cash, 10 shillings paid the music master for my entrance to the dancing class."

July 17, 1758, he opens an account against Mrs. Mary Washington. There are many charges in this account, chiefly for money lent his mother annually or oftener to the close of her life. Beneath the last entry is written: "Settled."

He grasped a knowledge of the practical and useful affairs in life almost by intuition. His earliest recorded observations on the value of lands, the quality of timber, the productiveness of the soil, etc., in his journal, illustrate the maturity of his mind: "Sunday, March 13, 1747-8. Rode to his Lordship's Quarter about 4 Miles higher up ye river, we went through most beautiful Groves of Sugar Trees & spent ye best part of ye Day in admiring ye Land."

Washington was an enthusiastic admirer of the grand and sublime in nature, and was, as his diaries show, specially observant of the beautiful native trees which were to be met with in our forests, never being at a loss to tell with precision where the finest specimens of the various species were to be found. Later in life when he was embellishing the lawn and grounds of Mount Vernon he took pains to transplant to them hundreds of select specimens of the grandest indigenous trees of our country, from near and remote localities, noted either for their effect in the landscape, their shade, graceful forms, beauty of bud, leaf, blossom or fruit, or for the variety of their autumnal tints.

While his engagements as a surveyor brought him many opportunities for observing the grandeur of nature, they also imposed numerous hardships and privations. On a spare leaf in his journal is the draft of a letter, without date, but written in 1748, to "Dear Richard," in which he describes some of his discomforts. He writes: "Nothing would make it pass of tolerably but a good reward, a Doubleloon is my constant gain every Day that the weather will permit my going out and sometimes six Pistoles."—From the tone of this and the drafts of other letters in the same book, to youthful friends, it is evident he at first felt sorely his isolation and want of companionship. But there is no intimation anywhere that he lacked the fortitude or perseverance necessary to bear the privation or perform the duties he had undertaken.

Early in life he manifested the fixed determination to earn more than his expenses, that he might at all times have the means to help others and forward his own plans. Washington's early surveys, it will be remembered, were chiefly in the unsettled parts of the Shenandoah valley and along the Potomac river and its larger branches in Virginia. For want of habitations the surveyors were obliged to camp out in improvised tents. His journal, under date of "March 31, 1748," has the following record: "Early this Morning one of our Men went out with ye Gun & soon returned with two Wild Turkies we then went to our Business run of three Lots & returned to our Camping place at Stumps." As illustrating his fortitude and perseverance, the draft of the following letter to a youthful friend, in the fall of 1748, may be quoted: "I have not sleep'd above three Nights or four in a bed but after Walking a good deal all the Day lay down before the fire upon a Little Hay Straw Fodder or bearskin whichever is to be had." *

It will be remembered that at the time this journal was written the country west of the Blue Ridge was the home and the hunting ground of the Indian. In March, 1748, a war party of Indians, returning from the

* *Journal of My Journey Over the Mountains*, p. 63.

south, with one scalp, stopped at the surveyors' camp for the night, and were induced, for a bottle of rum, to give an exhibition of their war dance. The following memorandum from this journal, without date, but probably made in 1749, shows George's solicitude for the business interests of his brother Lawrence, who had gone to England chiefly on the business of the "Ohio Company":

"When I see my Brother Austin to Enquire of him whether he is the Acting Attorney for my Brother and as my Brother Lawrence left Directions with the Hon. W. F. x to remit his Pay as Adjutant whether it would not be more proper to Keep it to Pay the Notes of Hand that's Daily coming against him and to Write Word to Williamsburg to Acquaint his Hon: my B: A: to write him word."

Still more characteristic of young Washington is the following record in 1748: "Memorandum to charge Mrs. Ans. Washington with 4-9 and 18d the 30 of July to a Maryland Housewife as also Major Law: Washington with 1-3 lent 15 of August 5-9 the 17 Do 2-6 Do: I read to the Reign of K: John In the Spectators Read to No. 143."

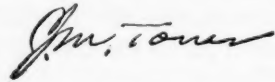
In a small dilapidated ledger, probably the first opened by George Washington, may be found accounts against eighteen persons, whose names, with the years in which the entries were made, can all be given in alphabetical order. We deduce from these entries, the bulk of which were chiefly for small sums of money lent to friends, that Washington was of an accommodating spirit; the fact that he seems always to have had money, shows that he was thrifty, and his making book-entries shows that he had business tact and methods, was orderly, and had a just appreciation of the value of money. He credits himself in this book with small sums won at loo, whist, and billiards; also with small losses at these games with his friends. This habit of charging himself with losses at cards and other games was continued through his life. These extracts from George Washington's early business accounts suggest that the germ of his orderly methods which led him to submit to the labor of keeping an exact account of his personal expenses throughout the Revolutionary War, and which he presented to congress to discharge in lieu of salary, existed in him from his youth. He never counted trouble or cost where a principle was to be maintained, and his systematic methods secured to him time for every duty. His expense accounts show that on September 20, 1747, he buys himself a two-foot Gunter for $\frac{1}{8}$. This was probably the common flat drawing scale or rule, usually an inch and a half broad, divided and ruled to various measures relating to surveying, navigation, trigonometry, etc., used chiefly by surveyors.

It has been said and with much truth that Washington was a slave to his pen. Springing from his habit of explicitness of detail in enterprises and intimately connected with this marked trait was his custom of taking notes and making records of observed facts, relating to matters in which he was interested. On the value of approved methods he sententiously wrote, "Contracts not reduced to writing are seldom performed to the satisfaction of either party." Though he was not an essayist or a writer of books, he was one of the most felicitous letter-writers in history.

Nearly every subject of practical interest to a people in a new country—such as farm management and productions, commerce, inventions, manufactures, and the right of the people to choose their own form of government and rulers—engaged his attention and is discussed with great ability. His earliest business letter of which I have any knowledge is one from the valley of Virginia, May 5, 1749, to his half-brother, Lawrence Washington, at the time a member of the House of Burgesses, and is directed to Williamsburg. In this letter matters of much importance to his mother and to his father's estate he discusses in a familiar and comprehensive manner, and points out the great injury a proposed new ferry would be to their plantation, and hopes the Assembly will not authorize its establishment at the place proposed.

While in ordinary business matters he could safely rely on his own judgment, in those requiring the technical knowledge of a lawyer he never failed to employ one, as is attested by the many fees to attorneys entered in his cash-book. His fees as a surveyor and his salary as adjutant-general put him in possession of funds. It was apparent to all who knew him and observed his aptitude for and his attention to business, that he was sure to get on in the world.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Jm. Toner". The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline.

ANDREW JACKSON AND DAVID CROCKETT

REMINISCENCES OF COLONEL CHESTER

It was in the month of March, 1890, that the following conversation with Colonel Chester took place at his home in Jackson, Tennessee. It opened about Jackson, through my remark that some late writers placed Andrew Jackson and David Crockett in the same rank. "No," he said decidedly; "they stood on a very different plane. Jackson was a wonderful man. Crockett was a backwoodsman only. Jackson was equally able in great or small affairs. I was once," he went on to say, "caught in the rain going to the Hermitage. You know my first wife was Mrs. Jackson's niece, a daughter of Colonel Hay's, and the most beautiful woman I ever saw in my life. Jackson lent me a suit of his clothes which fitted me exactly, shoes and all. We were just the same size, six feet one," and Colonel Chester drew himself up as if proud of the resemblance. He then spoke of the Dickinson duel, and showed me on his own person the course of the ball which drew blood. "Jackson once spoke to me of that duel," he said. "He told me Dickinson was never known to miss his mark, and he felt sure of being killed unless he maintained entire self-control. Dickinson's shot barely missed his heart. 'Then,' said Jackson, 'I had to kill him.' Dickinson had repeated some slanders about Mrs. Jackson. It is true that Jackson was married to her before the divorce was granted. He was told when it had been obtained, and as soon as he heard that his marriage was premature, he went back to Dr. Craighead and had the marriage ceremony performed over again.

General Jackson," he continued, "always escorted Mrs. Jackson from the Hermitage to Nashville—twelve miles—on horseback, riding beside her carriage, but never in it." "Was that," I asked, "because he feared some ruffianly attacks on her?" "Oh, no," he replied; but the question recalled to him the story of Russell Bean, the outlaw of East Tennessee. "Bean had a very pretty wife, of whom he was frantically and unjustly jealous. Her youngest child was born during his absence from home. When he came back he took a pocket knife and cut off its ears, saying 'that he'd mark it so as to know it from his own.' The child died and his wife was given a divorce. He was summoned to appear in court, but refused; and a sheriff's posse sent for him, found him in the top of a tree

armed with a rifle. His reply to the sheriff's summons was a threat to shoot the first man who came within range. No one dared to come near him. The sheriff decided to wait until dinner time, when Jackson, who was then on the bench, could be summoned as a private citizen to assist him during the court's recess for dinner. To Jackson's summons Bean yielded, saying, 'I know Jackson is such a fool, he'd shoot me if I didn't.' Bean," continued Colonel Chester, "was once convicted of felony in Carthage, where I then lived. The punishment was branding on the palm of his hand the letter 'T.' Usually the prisoner was held firmly while this torture was inflicted; but Bean insisted on holding out his hand himself. No sooner was the brand made than he bit out the scorched flesh and spat it out of his mouth. *I saw this.* His son became a pirate."

I asked about General Jackson's displays of temper. Colonel Chester replied that he was a man of force, and used his temper to gain his ends, but was not of bad or ungovernable temper. "His manners were courtly, and the expression used about him at the time was that he was as able in the cock-pit as in the battle-field, as capable in small as in great things. He was a believer in predestination, and trusted and believed in special Providence, considering the battle of New Orleans as an evidence of Divine favor vouchsafed him." "I served under Jackson at New Orleans," Colonel Chester went on, "and he once said to me that the battle was won by Coffee's repulse of the night attack of the British. Had that attack succeeded there were not Americans enough to hold the line. This was in December, before the arrival of Carroll. Cotton bales were undoubtedly used in the fortifications. When I lived in Carthage, General Jackson passed through the town, on the way home from the Burr trial. The tavern where he stayed was at once crowded with people. He ordered the customary treat all round. A man in the crowd sneered out something about 'your friend Burr.' Jackson's glass was at his lips, but he threw the whiskey into the speaker's eyes.

David Crockett," said Colonel Chester, "was a backwoodsman, strong, keen eyed, observant. On the stump he told anecdotes that pleased the people, but in congress he was without influence. Crockett's cabin, on the Obion river, was open to all. I once crossed that river in a canoe—my horse swimming by me—and slept in his house on a bear-skin, and ate bear-meat with a bowie knife and a cane fork." "What is a cane fork?" I asked. "A fork," he replied, "made by splitting a piece of cane—it had two prongs. Crockett," he went on, "boasted a great deal about a coat made from American wool sent him from New England. He used to wear a coon-skin cap, and defeated Colonel Butler for congress by

ridiculing him for having carpets on his floors." I said something about the inscription at the Alamo. He quickly responded, "The fight at the Alamo was a blunder. What did a man shut himself up in a fort, and allow Santa Anna to surround him for? It was downright folly." The inscription, "Thermopylæ had one left to tell her story, the Alamo had none," he allowed to be touching, but insisted that Crockett was not comparable to Jackson as a soldier, statesman or citizen. Speaking of inscriptions, he said that the one on Mrs. Jackson's tomb, "A being so gentle slander could wound but could not dishonor," etc., was written by General John H. Eaton.

Colonel Robert Chester of Tennessee, whose reminiscences I have recorded, was born in 1793, and at the time of his death, in 1891, was the oldest affiliating mason in the United States. He was a relative by marriage and a great admirer of General Jackson. In 1884, he was the messenger from Tennessee to carry the electoral vote of the state to Washington; and his tall straight figure, courtly bearing, and white hair attracted wide attention at the nation's capital.

A. S. Turner—

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

THE UNITED STATES IN PARAGRAPHS

[Continued from page 308]

ALABAMA

1764, February. By a royal decree Captain George Johnstone being governor (R.N.), the province of West Florida is created, embracing the territory south of latitude $32^{\circ} 28'$, and between the Mississippi and Chattahoochee rivers. The northern part of the present state lay in the then province of Illinois.

1772. The Hon. Peter Chester appointed governor.

August 30. Mobile devastated by a hurricane lasting till September 3.

1776. The Declaration of Independence and the war that follow hardly touch the province of West Florida, which remains for the most part loyal to the crown.

1777. William Bartram travels through the province and prepares his valuable notes on manners and customs (published by Ethnological Society, 1851).

1778. Alexander McGillvray, son of Lachlan (see 1735), is made a colonel in the British service and renders valuable aid to the Royalists.

1778, March 7. Captain James Willing, of Philadelphia, leads a body of American troops down the Mississippi and is partially successful in fomenting revolt against the British at Mobile. Loyalty to the crown prevails in the end, and Willing is taken prisoner.

1779. England declares war against France and Spain.

1780, March 14. Don Bernardo Galvez, governor of Spanish Louisiana, captures Mobile, and, after reducing Pensacola, secures control of the whole province.

1782, November 30. A preliminary treaty of peace signed at Paris recognizing the independence of the American colonies, as far south as a line defined by the thirty-first parallel and the Chattahoochee, Flint, and St. Mary's rivers.

1782, November 30. East and West Florida remain by treaty under Spanish rule, and the strip between latitude 31° and $32^{\circ} 28'$ (see 1764) is for many years in dispute.

1784. Colonel Alexander McGillvray takes offense at the British and forms an alliance with the Spaniards.

1785. Border warfare breaks out, fomented by McGillvray and his Indian friends along the Coosa river. The provisional congress, then in session at Augusta, Georgia, sends a commission to negotiate with them.

1787, April 10. Conference of the Hon. James White, United States commissioner, with Colonel McGillvray and the Creek chiefs at Cussetta. No agreement reached concerning boundaries.

August 18. Washington, now in his second term as president, and McGillvray conclude a treaty defining the boundary between Georgia and Alabama

and retaining McGillvray in the service of the United States with the rank of brigadier.

Georgia, under a charter of Charles II., claims all the territory between the thirty-first and thirty-fifth parallels, and sells out the major part of Alabama to the "Tennessee Company" for about \$46,000. The scheme known as the "Yazoo frauds" was defeated with some bloodshed.

1791, May. Andrew Ellicott, a government surveyor, attempts to run the line between the Creeks and Georgians, but is prevented by threatened trouble with the Indians, who are dissatisfied with McGillvray's treaty.

1793, February 17. Death of General McGillvray at Pensacola, where he was buried with full Masonic honors.

1794-1795. Revival of the "Yazoo frauds," Georgia claiming the right to sell titles to lands between her present territory and the Mississippi (West Florida), then owned by Spain.

1795, February 7. The four "Yazoo Companies," so called, organize under the laws of Georgia, and make a first payment on lands including northern Alabama, altogether about twenty-one million acres.

1795-1796. Amid great public excitement the "Yazoo act" is abrogated both by the state of Georgia and by the general government, with Washington as president, but in the meantime many settlers penetrate the wilderness of northern Alabama.

1795, October 27. Thomas Pinckney, minister to Spain, negotiates a treaty fixing the thirty-first parallel (present southern line of Alabama) as the bound-

ary of the United States from the Mississippi to the Chattahoochee.

1796, June 29. Treaty signed at Muscogee, Georgia, reaffirming the agreement of 1790 (q. v.) and authorizing the establishment of government posts along the border.

Fort Bowyer established, Mobile Bay (replaced by Fort Morgan), 1819.

1797. Carondelet, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, refuses to recognize the treaty of Madrid, and a state of quasi-war ensues, the United States establishing military posts near the Spanish forts on the lower Mississippi.

1798, March. Spanish garrisons withdrawn and survey of the thirty-first parallel begun by Colonel Andrew Ellicott, with an armed escort of Spanish and American soldiers, and Major Stephen Minor and Sir William Dunbar as commissioners on the part of Spain.

1799-1801. Winthrop Sargent, of Massachusetts, governor.

August. Colonel Ellicott completes the survey to the Chattahoochee, when he is attacked by the Creeks, instigated, as is supposed, by Governor Folet of Pensacola. He fortifies his camp and the survey proceeds.

1798, May 10. Congress creates the "Mississippi Territory," extending from the Chattahoochee to the Mississippi, between the parallels of 31° and $32^{\circ} 28'$, the alleged rights of Georgia being provisionally recognized.

By appointment of the president, Winthrop Sargent, of Massachusetts, is made governor of the new territory, with the seat of government at Natchez, Mississippi.

1800. Population by second census (Mississippi and Alabama), 8,850.

1801-1805. William Charles Cole Claiborne, of Virginia, governor.

1802. Thomas Jefferson, having become president, appoints William C. C. Claiborne, of Tennessee, governor of Mississippi.

April 24. For \$1,250,000 Georgia cedes to the United States all the territory now included within the state lines north of the thirty-first parallel and westward to the Mississippi. Commissioners for the United States: Albert Gallatin, James Madison, Levi Lincoln; for Georgia: James Jackson, Abraham Baldwin, John Milledge.

The Pierce brothers, New Englanders, open at Tensaw the first American school in the state. Cotton gins established.

1803. Colonel Andrew Ellicott's *Journal* published in Philadelphia (see 1791).

William Augustus Bowles, a native of Maryland and a British deserter, stirs up the Creeks to war. He is captured, handed over to the Spaniards, and dies in prison at Havana.

1803, April. Lorenzo Dow, the first Protestant preacher in Alabama, visits the Tensaw settlements.

April 30. France cedes Louisiana to the United States for \$12,000,000, upon which complications arise with Spain regarding boundaries.

1805-1809. Robert Williams, of North Carolina, governor.

1809-1817. David Holmes, of Virginia, governor.

1810. Population by third United States census (Mississippi and Alabama), 40,352.

1812-1813. The Creek war.

1812-1814. War between the United States and Great Britain. The Spaniards favor the English so openly that armed invasion of West Florida is decided upon by the United States.

1813, April 13. Captain Cayetano Perez surrenders Mobile to an American force under General James Wilkinson, who fortifies the entrance to the bay.

May. Tecumseh, the famous Indian chief, working in British interest, stirs up the Creeks and Choctaws to massacre the American settlers. A British fleet appears off the coast.

July 27. Battle of Burnt Corn. Beginning of the Creek war. Colonel James Caller, with a hastily raised force of volunteers, attacks the Indians but is routed, and Mobile itself is threatened by the victorious Creeks.

July 30. General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne takes command of the Mobile district and begins operations against the Creeks.

Fort Mims built near Tensaw, and occupied for safety by some 553 souls, including a garrison under Major Daniel Beaseley.

August 30. At noon when the drums of Fort Mims beat the "dinner call," a large force of Creek warriors under their chief Red Eagle—William Weatherford, a descendant of the McGillvray family—stormed the outworks, taking the garrison wholly by surprise, and all, save a few who escaped and others saved for slavery, were put to death. Major Beaseley was killed at the first onset while trying, sword in hand, to close the outer gate.

November 3. Battle of Tallasehatchee. A large force of hostile

Indians defeated and most of them killed by an American force under General Jackson.

November 9. Battle of Talladega. General Jackson with about two thousand men surrounds a large force of Creeks and after a sharp fight kills many of them, and puts the rest to flight.

November 12. "Canoe fight near Tensaw." Three Americans, Dale, Smith, and Austill, attack a war canoe containing nine Creek warriors and in a desperate hand-to-hand fight slay them all. A brave negro slave, Cæsar by name, paddles the American canoe.

November 18. Attack upon the Hillabee Towns by Generals Cocke and White, ignorant of a truce granted by Jackson. This apparent breach of faith protracted the Creek war.

November 29. Battle of Auttosee Towns. An American force under General John Floyd, and piloted by Abram Mordecai, a brave Jewish trader, defeats the Indians near Calebee Creek.

December 27. Battle of Econachaca (Holy Ground), on the Alabama river, in Lowndes county. General Claiborne captures the place, a Creek stronghold, after an obstinate resistance.

1813-1814. Continuation of the Creek war, with the victory often doubtful, Jackson being hampered by short-term volunteers and inefficient contractors.

March 27. Battle of Cholooco Lita-

bixee (the Horseshoe), a fortified bend of the Tallapoosa river. Jackson with two thousand men storms the position, nearly all the Indian garrison, one thousand strong, fighting to the death.

April. Fort Jackson built on the site of old Fort Toulouse (see 1714). The Creek chiefs, including William Weatherford, their gallant half-breed leader, surrender, and the war is soon at an end. Weatherford became a respected citizen of Munroe County, Alabama, where he died in 1826.

August 29. The British under Colonel Nichol occupy Pensacola with Spanish consent, and instigate the Indians to renewed hostilities.

September 15. A British squadron of four vessels under Commodore Percy engages the forts at Mobile Point, aided by a land force, but is driven off, with the loss of the flagship *Hermes*.

November 7. With an army of regulars and volunteers, Jackson invests Pensacola, captures the Spanish outworks, and soon compels the evacuation of the British.

1815, February 12. A powerful British force invests Mobile Point by land and sea. The garrison, three hundred and sixty strong, under Major Lawrence, surrenders, salutes its flag, and marches out with the honors of war.

1815, March 13. News received of the treaty of Ghent (December 24, 1814), and peace is proclaimed between Great Britain and the United States.

Chas. Ledyard Norton.

(To be continued)

NOTES

THE HISTORY OF THE WASHINGTON CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION in 1889, which has long been anticipated with much interest, is completed and will be issued in a few days. It is a sumptuous folio of six hundred and fifty thick calendered pages, with gilt edges, in a rich binding. In addition to the elaborate record of the celebration, which is described in all its aspects, it contains a large amount of collateral but related historic matter, and is illuminated with a bewildering amount of historic portraits and illustrations, numbering some seven hundred. There are numerous excellent pictures of the parades during the three days of the celebration, naval, military, and industrial, from photographs of the stirring scenes. The volume also contains extracts from unpublished dispatches regarding Washington's inauguration, written from this country by the diplomatic agents of England, France, Spain, Holland, and Sweden, and now in the state archives of those countries. The names appear of all the invited guests at the Lawyers' Club reception; of the invited guests and subscribers to the ball and banquet; of the subscribers to the Memorial Arch fund, and to the celebration itself, and of all who were officially connected with the celebration. These names may easily be found by means of the index, which covers one hundred pages and is a very elaborate piece of work. One thousand copies only of the volume are printed, and the price is \$30 a copy.

GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY IN THE SCHOOLS—In the report recently issued by the Bureau of Education, in which many subjects of the first interest to parents and teachers are discussed, we find the following: "In relation to geography and history it may be said that while in their treatment they have undergone important changes, those changes have resulted from the adoption of more intelligent methods of teaching rather than from any change in the general purposes of instruction. Essentially 'information subjects,' they have always been taught with that end principally in view. That they were encumbered with useless details that drew the mind of the pupil from important general facts and ruling principles was due not to a belief that such teaching was the more effective discipline of the mind, but to a less intelligent comprehension of what information best serves the pupil. Such changes being the result of greater efficiency on the part of teachers are naturally followed by a clearer understanding and a more rational knowledge of the subjects on the part of the pupils.

In the case of geography and history no tendency is apparent to materially alter the time appointed, and there seems to be nothing to justify a belief that the time now devoted to these subjects is either considerably more or considerably less than at any recent period. The inference, therefore, is that at the end of the elementary course the pupil of to-day knows more that is worth

knowing of geography and history than did the pupil of any past period."

OHIO'S PART IN UNIVERSITY EXTENSION—Ohio is making steady advance in university extension. In addition to the large societies in Cleveland and Cincinnati, a movement has been made for the formation of a State Extension Society. At a meeting in Columbus, January 21, after a careful discussion of the relation of the college to this movement, and of the best methods of organization, it was resolved to form a state society with a membership composed of the faculties of the various colleges of Ohio, and of such persons as they may deem proper to elect. The society is to be under the management of a board of councillors composed of

one member from each college. Its organization will be completed on March 8. The formation of such state societies is most desirable. Were each state in the Union to form a state society, the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching would be able to enter more freely upon a national work of a very valuable character, such as: 1. The collection and publication of information pertaining to the university extension movement in this country and abroad; 2. The preparation and publication of technical literature on the subject, relating to the best methods of organization, the function of the lecture, the syllabus, the methods of conducting examinations, etc.; 3. The devising of plans for the training of university extension lecturers.

QUERIES

THE LARGEST STATUE IN THE WORLD—Will some of the readers of the magazine enlighten me as to which is the largest statue in the world, and its exact location?

AMASA WILLIAMS

BELFAST, IRELAND.

ORIGIN OF THE RING IN THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY—Information is de-

sired as to when the ring was first used in the marriage ceremony and what was its origin.

HISTORY CLASS

KANSAS CITY.

PORTRAIT OF LA SALLE—Will some one tell me through the *Magazine of American History* where I can find a portrait of La Salle?

W. A. C.

REPLIES

OLIVER CROMWELL'S DESCENDANTS [xxvi. 73, 318]—There may be descendants of Oliver Cromwell in the United States of America, but of one thing I am sure, there are none through the line

of his second and favorite daughter Elizabeth, who married one John Claypoole, as their children died young and unmarried—shown by several wills and court proceedings in England, copies of which

I have. The Claypooles and their descendants in America, with the exception of one branch which settled there some twenty years ago, have for ancestors two brothers, Norton and James. Norton was granted a ticket from Barbadoes to New England, 22d February, 1678, and arrived at New York in ship *Bachelors' Delight*. ("Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, etc., etc., from Great Britain to the American Plantations. 1600-1700." By John Camden Hotten.)

James Claypoole arrived at Philadelphia from England "8th day, 8th month, 1683," in ship *Concord*. (Claypoole Family Records, *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. xiv. p. 87.) These brothers were two of a family of fourteen children, and full brothers to the above-named John. (Benjamin Claypoole's letter, dated London, March 22, 1706-7, *Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, vol. x. pp. 354-355.) Edith Chambers's descent is very clear, as is shown in a "Release" of some land, dated 7th November, 1745, and recorded 12th June, 1766, Deed book No. 11, p. 601; Recorder's office, Doylestown, Bucks county, Pennsylvania.

I shall not give it *in extenso*, but simply genealogical extracts: "Release: James Claypoole, David Chambers and Edith Chambers to Samuel Faries." "Between James Claypoole of the City of Philadelphia Painter and David Chambers of the said City Shopkeeper

and Edith his wife, (they the said James Claypoole and Edith Chambers being the residuary devisees of the last will and testament of their father Joseph Claypoole deceased by his will and testament) of the one part . . . "

" . . . Whereas William Penn the Proprietary of this Province having granted unto James Claypoole the Grandfather of the said James Claypoole party hereto and Edith Chambers the quantity of five thousand acres of land to be located in this Province did by his the said Proprietaries Warrant of the 12th day, of the 5th month, 1684, cause to be surveyed unto the said James Claypoole the Grandfather on the 30th day of the Seventh Month in the same year certain one thousand acres of land part thereof . . . "

Thus Edith's grandfather was James Claypoole the emigrant (1683), and John was her great-uncle, and his wife Elizabeth Cromwell her great-aunt by marriage. My descent is through James Claypoole the painter, a full brother to Edith. For over four years I have been at work on the genealogies of the different Claypoole families and their descendants in America, and although I have a mass of information, should be glad to correspond with "Historicus," as he may have valuable family data unknown to me.

J. RUTGERS LE ROY

14 RUE CLEMENT MAROT,
PARIS, FRANCE.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for April was held on Tuesday evening, the 5th instant. Hon. John A. King presided. The librarian reported the addition to the gallery of the society, of portraits of President King painted by Robert Hinckley, Maximilian and Carlotta, painted in Mexico as emperor and empress, bequeathed by Mrs. Parthenia T. Norton, in memory of her husband Henry G. Norton, who was for many years a member of the society; also a portrait of Zachary Taylor in the uniform of a colonel of infantry.

Mr. Edward F. de Lancey read the paper of the evening, entitled "The King's Personal Policy in England, and how it Forced his Subjects in America, Against their Wishes, into a Successful Revolution."

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the evening of March 14th. An interesting report was made by the committee on the matter of erecting a monument to the memory of soldiers of the "Maryland Line" who fell on the battlefield of Guilford Court-house, or were engaged in that battle. The committee have secured the necessary funds and agreed upon a design for the monument, and the work has so far progressed that the monument will be in place and delivered over to the Guilford Battlefield Association in the course of the coming season, with appropriate ceremonies.

A letter was read from the Rev. Dr. Hall Harrison, enclosing a letter to him

from the late president of the society, J. H. B. Latrobe, and correcting an error which crept into one of the addresses before the society at the meeting in memory of President Latrobe. This letter, written twenty-two years ago, showed clearly that the code of laws for the colony of Maryland in Liberia was not prepared by Mr. Latrobe, but by Hugh Davey Evans, for many years a prominent lawyer in Baltimore and a member of the Maryland Historical Society, who died several years ago. The fact was made very clear that Mr. Latrobe was the author of the charter, the constitution, and the bill of rights of that colony, and of the ordinances for its temporary government; but that the code of laws, which have been much commented on and commended, was prepared by Mr. Evans. An inquiry from abroad as to the locality of "Carrollton," so familiar to readers of American history as the supposed home of "Charles Carroll of Carrollton," elicited the fact that it was the name of a manor in Frederick county, Maryland, inherited and owned by Charles Carroll. It was not his permanent residence, although it bore the family name.

A paper was then read by Professor Herbert B. Adams, of the Johns Hopkins University and a member of the society, upon "Jared Sparks, the first Unitarian minister in Baltimore." The paper consisted of selections from a forthcoming work on "The Life and Writings of Jared Sparks," now in the press of Houghton & Mifflin at Boston.

After describing the English beginnings of Unitarianism, Dr. Adams traced the origin of the liberal movement in Baltimore, to the Rev. Dr. Freeman, of King's Chapel, Boston, who first preached in Gibney's Hall in South Charles street, Baltimore, October 12, 1816. Mr. Sparks owed his call to the pastorate to the influence of his friend and classmate, Edward Hinckley. Extracts were read from the Parish Records of the First Independent Church, illustrating the early history of the society. Mr. Sparks's leadership of the Unitarian movement southward was rapidly sketched, and interesting extracts from his journals of travel in the west and south were read. Most important, perhaps, was his record of an interview with Thomas Jefferson. Mr. Sparks received an original letter from the sage of Monticello, giving his religious views, which approximated to the Unitarian faith. Dr. Adams referred to Mr. Sparks's influence as the chaplain of congress, and read some of his amusing observations upon Washington society in the year 1823. Attention was called to the influence of Baltimore and Washington, with extensive travel west and south, upon the mind and sympathies of Mr. Sparks. He was entirely free from provincial and sectional spirit. He resigned his Baltimore pastorate in 1823 to take editorial charge of *The North American Review*, which he conducted in a truly national way.

THE CAYUGA COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its April meeting in the rooms of the association in Auburn, New York. Daniel Munson Osborne was the subject

of the paper, prepared, in response to an urgent request, by Thomas W. Osborne, a son of the great "reaper man," and his successor as head of one of the largest agricultural machine houses of the country. The story of the life of Auburn's representative citizen could not have been better told, nor was the literary excellence of the paper its chief charm.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY, New York, held its annual meeting April 8, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. The reports were of unusual interest, showing that the future of the society is well assured. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Hon. Charles E. Fitch, president; Professor Wm. C. Marey, vice-president; Hon. William F. Peck, recording secretary; Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker, corresponding secretary; Howard L. Osgood, librarian; Charles H. Wittle, treasurer.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN NORTH CAROLINA—This society was organized at Trinity College, North Carolina, on the evening of April 4, 1892. It will be under the direction of Dr. Stephen B. Weeks, the professor of history in the institution, and its work, as outlined by the constitution, will be to collect, arrange, and preserve a library of books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, papers, paintings, statuary, and other materials illustrative of the history of North Carolina and the South, and to promote original work in the field of Southern history. The officers chosen, were: Mr. S. J. Durham, president; Mr. E. T. Bynum, vice-president; Dr. Weeks,

corresponding secretary; Mr. I. E. Avery, recording secretary and treasurer; Mr. F. C. McDowell, librarian. These, together with Dr. J. F. Crowell, president of the college, and Mr. J. A. Baldwin, compose the executive committee in whose hands the control of the society is placed.

The society starts off with a membership of fifty and much enthusiasm. It has no rivals in the state, and its directors hope to put it at the head of all historical work done in North Carolina. For the present the greater part of the work will be done by members of the department of history in the college, but contributions have been promised by others. A circular letter has been sent out, asking contributions to the library, of *Southern Americana* and especially of *Caroliniana*. There is a wide field for historical studies in North Carolina and the South, along political, religious, social, economic, and constitutional lines. The field has been but slightly worked, and we earnestly hope this society will become a power in the new South.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting of the executive committee of this society was held at its rooms in the Westmoreland Club-house, February 19, President Henry in the chair. Among the interesting reports were many gifts of books. The president read an interesting letter from Mr. H. B. Clay, of Boston, regarding the Clay family of Virginia and Kentucky. Mr. Brock read a letter from Dr. Thomas Nelson Page, stating that Mr. George R. Morse, of New York, designed to present to the society a large part of the

correspondence of Governor John Page, of Virginia, whereupon it was

Resolved, That the Virginia Historical Society, with a sense of the peculiar fitness of its collections as the depository of the original papers of the distinguished son of Virginia, Governor John Page, would express its gratification at the generous intention of Mr. George R. Morse, of New York, as stated, and would highly appreciate the valuable gift. Mr. Brock was authorized to commit to the printer for publication the current volume of the society, which will comprehend, with other matter, the valuable papers read before the society at its recent meeting, December 21 and 22, 1891.

THE KANSAS HISTORICAL SOCIETY met in annual session at Topeka, Kansas, on January 19. Reports and papers were read, and officers elected for the ensuing year. The account of the library accessions was particularly interesting, as it is notably a library of original materials for the use of students and investigators. The secretary said: "Our Kansas State Historical library already exceeds that of any other in this country as to the number of its volumes of newspapers. No other library in any state contains so many volumes of its own state newspapers as has our own. We number now eight thousand four hundred and twelve volumes of Kansas newspapers and periodicals. These are nearly all volumes of daily and weekly newspapers. They contain a record of the history of Kansas through all the years of our territorial and state existence, thirty-seven years—from 1854 to 1892."

BOOK NOTICES

PATRICK HENRY, LIFE, CORRESPONDENCE AND SPEECHES. BY WILLIAM WIRT HENRY. With portrait. Vols. ii, iii. 8vo, pp. 652, 672. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.

The second volume of this instructive and exhaustive study of a noble life is even more attractive than its predecessor. It opens with the third term of Patrick Henry's public service as governor of Virginia, 1778-79, when a French fleet was on its way to aid in the revolutionary struggle, and the prospects for the patriots somewhat more hopeful than they had been. During that memorable winter the court of Spain was engaged in an effort to effect a settlement of impending hostilities with England by securing to that country the basin of the St. Lawrence and the territory northwest of the Ohio, the United States to be bounded by the Alleghenies. By this arrangement Spain could claim as her own the valley of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. But the plan did not succeed, and in June, 1779, Spain made a formal declaration of war against Great Britain without entering into alliance with the United States. Then came necessity for the most vigorous measures of defense, as England thought to push her war with America to a successful termination with all convenient dispatch. Sir Henry Clinton superseded General Howe, and was ordered to abandon Philadelphia and hold New York and Rhode Island, attacking the accessible forts along the Atlantic coast, destroying everything of value within reach; while the Indians from Detroit to Florida were to be incited to renew their murderous raids. How well Governor Henry acted for Virginia these pages reveal. At the end of this term of office he declined to be a candidate for re-election, and retired to his Leatherwood estate, in the interior of the state, about seven miles from the court-house. A few months later he was elected a delegate to congress, but declined on account of illness. He was, however, soon one of the chosen delegates from Henry county to the Virginia assembly, and accepted the trust; an event that was hailed with delight throughout Virginia, for of all leaders he was the one most implicitly trusted.

After the war was over, in November, 1784, Mr. Henry was again, for the fourth time, elected governor of the state. "without competition or opposition," succeeding Benjamin Harrison. The chapter relating to this peculiar period is one of intense interest. In November, 1785, Governor Henry was re-elected to the office of governor of Virginia for the fifth term—and without opposition. Governor Henry's attitude toward the proposed constitution is

fully shown in this second volume, also his position in the Virginia convention. His struggle for amendments is recorded in the thirty-eighth chapter. His biographer says, "While Mr. Henry set his face against all factious opposition to putting the new constitution in operation, he was unremitting in his efforts to procure the amendments he deemed of such vital importance. His meeting with the legislature in extra session satisfied him that the body was of his views, and he had but to wait for its regular session to embody them in acts." We have in this excellent and well-written work a complete outline of the constitutional controversies in which Mr. Henry was concerned, and the historic perspective which time has furnished enables the author to place the noble patriot and inspired orator in true relations with men and tendencies of the creative period of American national life. The work contains much new information about the man, and a comprehensive exposition of his political convictions.

The third volume contains the text of two of Patrick Henry's most important speeches, and the greater part of his public and private correspondence. The speeches are the celebrated arguments made in the Virginia convention of 1788, against the constitution, and in the British debt case. The author of the work says: "It may give the reader some idea of the amplitude of this argument, when he is told that Mr. Henry was engaged three days successively in its delivery; and some faint conception of the enchantment which he threw over it, when he learns that, although it turned entirely on questions of law, yet the audience, mixed as it was, seemed so far from being wearied that they followed him throughout with increased enjoyment. The room continued full to the last; and such was 'the listening silence' with which he was heard that not a syllable he uttered is believed to have been lost." The letters are addressed to Washington, Hancock, Franklin, Jefferson, Lafayette, Harrison, Jay, Adams, Lee, Madison, Randolph, Laurens, Wythe, and other leaders of the American revolution, and are written in the stately and ceremonious style which was characteristic of that period. It was then considered beneath the dignity of an educated man to write even to a personal friend in a playful spirit or to discuss a commonplace business transaction with any degree of familiarity. The volume furnishes an interesting study of courtly phrases, colonial sentences, and the solemnity of style which prevailed. The worthies of that time wrote to each other very much as they danced the minuet—with marvelous display of courtesy. The work is supplied with an excellent index for purposes of ready reference. As the edition is limited to eleven hundred

copies printed from type, these volumes will pass at once into the possession of libraries and book-collectors as a valuable literary and historical treasure.

NEW FRAGMENTS. By JOHN TYNDALL, F.R.S. 12mo, pp. 500. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1892.

This collection of the distinguished author's miscellaneous essays and poems, covers a large variety of subjects, scientific, biographical, controversial, reminiscent, and speculative. Most of them have appeared in various publications, and are here gathered in the uniform shape adopted for the publication of his other works. His writings must always command a widespread popularity among intellectual people, and will no doubt prove as suggestive in the future as they have in the past.

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA. With some account of ancient America and the Spanish conquest. By JOHN FISKE. 2 vols., crown 8vo, pp. 516 and 630. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1892.

It was wittily said, at a recent symposium of literary folk in this city, that by the end of next year few of the early American worthies from Columbus down will have a respectable shred of reputation left. It is perhaps a natural outgrowth of the journalistic training of the day that when a narrow soul becomes aware of a mortal reputation lifted upon the pinnacle of fame shining in the light of all the ages, it is seized with a mad desire to wreck that reputation, to dim the lustre of that light. It is by no means difficult to accomplish the task. It requires no extraordinary gifts to magnify the peccadilloes and minify the noble deeds of any human creature. It is easy to ride a hobby, particularly the hobby historical, for when your enthusiastic but narrow-minded historian sets himself to prove a certain thing about a certain person or place, it shall go hard but that he will find convenient nails on which to hang his theories.

The four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's great achievement is bringing out a host of writers on matters historical, especially regarding the famous Genoese and his predecessors; for that he had predecessors other than the native races of America, few nowadays will be found to deny absolutely, however they may differ in matters of detail. It is fortunate for those who have at heart the intelligent, critical consideration of our pre-Columbian as well as of our later history, that Mr. Fiske should have decided to bring out such a work as this just at this particular time. His well-known scholar-

ship and varied accomplishments find in this field ample material for literary work of a high character. Probably neither Bancroft, Prescott, Irving, or more recently, Dr. Winsor, would ungrudgingly admit the necessity of such a work. They have each and all of them gone over the ground with conscientious fidelity and exhaustive patience. So much the better! Every seemingly exhaustive work of this character opens the way for a still better condensation and compilation, and for a still clearer conception of what has gone before.

In the first of the two handsome volumes before us, a long introductory chapter is devoted to ancient America—the western continent, that is, before Europeans so much as suspected its existence. The ground is very thoroughly covered, and the conclusions even of such recent archaeologists as Baudelot receive due credit. After this come "Pre-Columbian Voyages," which will not altogether meet the approval of Professor Horsford, "Europe and Cathay," "The Search for the Indies," "The Finding of Strange Coasts," and "The Death of Columbus."

The second volume opens with a chapter entitled "Mundus Novus," which occupies nearly a third of the book; and the remaining pages are devoted chiefly to Spanish conquest in Mexico, Peru, and the other Central and South American states. In a somewhat careful examination of this work, we fail to discover that the author has omitted any important department that could reasonably be expected to claim his attention. Of course, like every student, he has his likes and dislikes, but he has brought to bear upon all sides of the historical prism the fruits of life-long study and of a catholic appreciation of what is best in the records of the past. The work deserves to be, and no doubt will be, a valued guide for readers of American history for many years to come, and it will serve at once to simplify and stimulate the work of future explorers in the same field, for every generation must needs produce a new crop of such explorers, until the making of many books comes to an untimely end.

THE HAPPY ISLES, AND OTHER POEMS. By S. H. M. BYERS. 12mo, pp. 162. Charles H. Webster & Co. New York. 1891.

This charming little volume contains among its thirty-nine poems the original song which has the honor of giving the name to the most picturesque campaign of the civil war, "The March to the Sea," of which song General Sherman said it was "the shortest complete history of that campaign in the language." Its author had been captured by the enemy, and during fifteen months was quartered in the prison camp at Columbia, South Carolina, with some hundreds of fellow-prisoners. He wrote the poem one chilly morning in a little wedge

tent; and Lieutenant Rockwell wrote the music to it under the floor of the hospital buildings, after which it was sung by the prison glee club. On his release Adjutant Byers was sent by General Sherman as the bearer of the first despatches north to General Grant and President Lincoln, announcing the victorious progress of the army through the Carolinas. Another poem of stirring interest is entitled, "News at the White House," telling how President Lincoln sat alone the entire night at a telegraph instrument, listening to the news as it was wired to Washington during the battle of Chattanooga. We cannot forbear quoting the following lines:

"Battle's thunder from left to right,
Belching cannon and musket's crash—
Click, click, click: 'Lo! on every height,
Flames of sulphur and lightning's flash.'
Closer still to the breathing wire
Bends the face of the President—
Does he hear it, the battle's fire,
Half way over a continent?"

The volume presents the beautiful "Ballad of Columbus" to its readers, which first appeared in this magazine in April, 1891, attracting wide attention, and "The Ballad of Quintin Massy,"—Quintin, the blacksmith painter of Antwerp, "that famous old Flemish town."

A GENEALOGICAL HISTORY. Beginning with Colonel JOHN WASHINGTON, the emigrant, and head of the WASHINGTON family in America, with genealogical chart. By THORNTON AUGUSTIN WASHINGTON. 8vo, pp. 71. Pamphlet. (Privately printed.) Washington, D.C. 1891.

The facts embraced in this work are limited chiefly to such as relate to that branch of the Washington family in America from which its editor and compiler is descended; but these facts are valuable, and are so connected with the history of the entire family that they become of general interest. Until within a year or two there has been an exasperating uncertainty about the actual identity of the Lawrence Washington who was the father of the Colonel John Washington who emigrated with his wife to this country about 1657, as there were Lawrence Washingtons in nearly all the generations and lines of descent for centuries in England. But Henry F. Waters, A.M., ended, on the 3d of June, 1889, the long search for the true line of the English ancestry of our George Washington, which was begun in 1791, having reached proofs of the most positive and conclusive character that the father of the emigrants was the clergyman, Lawrence Washington, M.A., whose

wife's name was Amphilis. This does not alter the English pedigree only so far as it settles the identity of that one personage, who died about 1655, a few months after the burial of his wife, leaving three sons, young men who had but little chance of getting on in England under Cromwell, as they belonged to a royalist family. Thus they emigrated to Virginia. In this little brochure before us we may follow the line of descent from Colonel John Washington, the elder of these brothers. He bought lands in Virginia, became a planter of importance, and served in the House of Burgesses. He was a churchwarden as early as 1661, and the parish in which he lived was named "Washington Parish" in recognition "of his public services and private virtues." His son Lawrence was the father of Augustine who married Mary Ball. Samuel Washington, the brother of our first president, was the great-great-grandfather of the author of this genealogy, which is admirably arranged and presented.

ENGLISH SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. By ROBERT ARCHERY WOODS. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891. \$1.50.

During the years 1890 and 1891 a series of six lectures was delivered by the author at Andover Theological Seminary, which attracted wide attention from the catholicity of the views expressed and the evidently exhaustive study of the subject that characterized the whole treatment. A demand for publication followed almost as a matter of course, and the lectures, with certain revisions and additions, now appear in book form. The author gathered most of his material during a six months' stay at Toynbee Hall in London, and during subsequent visits to similar fields in other cities of the United Kingdom.

It will be readily inferred, then, that the lectures bear mainly upon the social aspects of English life in its lower strata, the labor movement, socialistic tendencies, the university settlements, church work, the charitable and educational problems involved, and the various views and experiences of philanthropists. Some of the names and places mentioned are familiar to American readers, and all of them have a direct bearing upon problems which either confront us already or are destined to do so before many years have passed. These seven chapters will be of great value to writers and speakers on the threatening conditions of American life, and, if studied without prejudice, may well prevent many blunders on the part of well-meaning persons who have more zeal than brains.



KING GEORGE III.

[From the original picture by Sir William Beechey, R.A.]

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HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES OF OUR NEW PARKS

OUR subject does not admit a detailed account of the military, artistic, and moral arguments made in 1881 and thereafter in favor of the acquisition of additional park area.

It is sufficient to state that before the acquisition of the new parks beyond the Harlem river the total park area belonging to New York was but one thousand eleven and one-half acres, and there was a population of one million and a half people to use it. The new parks situated in the annexed district, and adjoining county of Westchester, cost over nine million dollars. They are still unimproved but are open to all of us, and in them we can enjoy our outings in real country, and study nature unadorned, which most of us think is her most attractive form.*

Our people, however, owe a debt to the promoters and advocates of these new "breathing spots," and it is with regret that we are forced to express in such brief terms our gratitude to the commissioners, secretary, engineers, and appraisers engaged in their selection and acquisition.

An article in *Scribner's Magazine* for April 1892, has gone quite extensively into that branch of the subject. The reports of the commissions, however, are the fullest authority. We ask you to visit our new domain, admire for a few moments the natural beauties of each park, and try to locate, as near as possible, the historical reminiscences belonging to them.

VAN CORTLANDT PARK

The most northerly is Van Cortlandt park. It contains, including highways, one thousand one hundred and thirty-two and one-half acres. It lies in the north central part of the twenty-fourth ward, known originally as the southern part of the township of Yonkers.† Its southern features are a

* It is an interesting fact that this beautiful park area embraces the territory originally occupied by four of the great manor estates of early New York—those of Phillips, Morris, Pell, and De Lancey—showing the cleverness and far-sightedness of the men who made their selections of landed property and obtained patents when the country was new.—EDITOR.

† A portion of the manorial estate of Frederick Phillips, which was left in 1703 by will to his daughter Eve, the wife of Jacobus Van Cortlandt.